HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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California Court Rewrites Constitution

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Mr. Dooley, that superb creation of Finley Peter Dunne, once observed: "No matter whether th' Constitution follows th' flag or not, th' Supreme Court follows th' iliction returns."

But that famous adage has just been scrapped by the California Supreme Court, which in a 5-to-2 decision has followed neither the Constitution nor the election returns but the code of the political Mafia currently shaping our destiny.

I refer, of course, to the decision invalidating Proposition 14, which was adopted at the polls in 1964 by the fairly conclusive vote of 4,526,000 to 2,395,000.

The basic point of 14 reaffirmed the historic right of a real estate owner "to sell, lease or rent any part of his property to such persons as he, in his absolute discretion, chooses." Not one blessed word in it prevented him from leasing or selling to red men, yellow men, black men or even visitors from Mars, whatever their color or religion. All it said was he could do as he saw fit, without undergoing an FEPC inquisition to prove he was pure of heart.

But opponents painted it not as the preserver of an ancient and unalienable civil right, but as a back-to-slavery movement. Nightly a procession of Hollywood liberals smote their breasts on TV, moaning that 14 was a flagrant attempt to prevent "minorities" from obtaining decent housing.

One ironic incident, near the end of the campaign, took most of the wind out of their sails. The papers reported that some Negroes tried to rent space in a building owned by one of the breast-beating luminaries, but were told it was full. Shortly afterward, they charged, a white man was able to obtain accommodations in the "full" building.

At any rate, the proposition, whatever its virtues or defects, was thoroughly debated before the public made its decision. Which was in complete contradistinction to the way the Rumford Act, which 14 overthrew, had been put over. It was during the last minutes of a hectic legislative session, when tired politicos were more weary than wary and the accent was on going home, that the Rumford Act, which had been lying around, was slipped into the deck and passed. This fast shuffle went almost unnoticed at the time.

But that's all academic now that the court has spoken. And while "one man, one vote" is a great phrase to use when the Mafia's mouthpieces deem it important to breach the solemn contract made at the Constitutional Convention, there are times when five men count more than the votes of 4,500,000. We must learn to be flexible in these matters.

Justice Paul Peek, who wrote the majority opinion, asserted Proposition 14 violated the first clause of the 14th Amendment. If I read that clause clearly—and I'm not sure the justice did—it says, "no state shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law . . . nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

From my view, the court's decision rapes the very constitutional clause it invokes. If I cannot use my property as I wish—granting, of course, I do not use it for murder or mayhem—it is not my property and it has been wrenched from me without due process. And no amount of holier-than-thou double-talk can obscure that fact.

Carried to its logical conclusion, the now reinstated Rumford Act might make ownership perilous. Suppose I decide to sell my house and want $10,000 for it. An old friend says longingly, "I'd love it, but I couldn't go over $9,250." An outsider offers $9,500, but I let my friend have it at his price.

Suppose the outsider is a member of a minority group and goes to the FEPC with the undeniable facts? I might be charged with a crime, forced to pay damages and be headlined as a racist.

Was bigotry possible under 14? Of course. But note Justice Thomas P. White's dissenting opinion: "Nothing in the federal Constitution gives one citizen the right to acquire property from another who does not wish to sell it to him even if the refusal is based on race or religion."

Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach testified recently before a House Judiciary subcommittee in support of the 1966 civil rights package requested by the Administration. Some observers think the California State Supreme Court decision outlawing Proposition 14 will lend support to those pressuring Congress for enactment of federal housing laws.

Apropos, some years before the Warren Court invalidated "restricted covenants," I was asked to sign an agreement pledging myself never to sell my house to a non-Caucasian. I refused—and so, obviously, did many others, for nothing more was heard of it.

Still, if I ever do sell, I pledge it won't be to Justice Peek. A fellow owes something to his community.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Dedicated Associate James L. Wick (1897-1964)

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● Sen. Peter Dominick (R.-Colo.) reports that the Pentagon recently sold a $15.9-million missile fuel complex near Buffalo, N.Y., for only $84,650. The GOP solon demanded the Defense Department explain the sale. The Scripps-Howard newspapers also reported that the government has sold for $1.5 million a missile fuel plant which cost more than $32.1 million to build, a loss of more than $30 million, or about 95 per cent.

● The United States has poured more than $1 billion into Gamal Abdel Nasser's United Arab Republic and the hawk-nosed dictator recently demonstrated his gratitude. He invited Soviet Premier Kosygin to Cairo and in a fiery speech threatened to use force to overthrow "reactionary forces"; i.e. pro-Western regimes, in the Middle East. "The Arab nation, as it conquered imperialism in 1956, will once again conquer imperialism even if it has to resort to the armed struggle," Nasser vowed.

● Pollster Lou Harris reports that runaway inflation is developing into a major campaign issue. By more than 2 to 1, he says, voters give LBJ a negative rating in keeping down the cost of living. Harris finds: "The source of the President's troubles over inflation is that the American people are hurting over the cost of living. Women particularly complain that prices of food and other items have risen even more than the government indices show. . . . Democrats tend to defend Mr. Johnson more than Republicans, but 60 per cent of the President's own party members are critical of him over inflation. What could hurt most is the additional fact that low-income people are complaining most of all."

● The Washington **Daily News** notes that federal aid to education has increased five-fold during the past four years, from $660 million to $3.4 billion. But the dropout rate has also increased—from 605,000 to 680,000. No comment necessary.

● The Citizens Foreign Aid Committee has accused LBJ of playing fast and loose with the facts in pushing his $3.4-billion foreign aid appropriation. Johnson told Congress in his foreign aid message that "more than 80 per cent of every AID dollar was spent for the purchase of American goods and services." The committee reports, however, that only 45 cents of every dollar is spent on goods and services from the United States.

● Rep. Howard Collier (R.-Ill.) reports that since Orville Freeman took over as secretary of agriculture, the Department of Agriculture's payroll has increased 20 per cent, from 98,694 to 117,481. And the nation's farm population has **decreased** the same percentage, from 15.6 million to 12.3 million.

● Sen. George Smathers (D.-Fla.) has denounced Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright for his frontal attacks on American policy. Countering Fulbright's charge that the United States is succumbing to an "arrogance of power," Smathers said: "There can be no arrogance of power in an age where we stand a finger tip away from the war of Armageddon. . . . This is not the hour to be quarrelling with the President or undercutting his command. It is always easier to take the stump than to act." Answering Fulbright's assertions that U.S. soldiers had turned Saigon into "an American brothel," Smathers said: "To charge that our soldiers despoil Viet Nam is simplistic. Long before Sherman said it, we have known that war is hell—ugly in every respect. We entered two world wars and conceived the Marshall Plan not as 'Boy Scouts' but as adherents to a principle—the principle of freedom. And we are in Viet Nam today, not to make war but to assure peace—to enlarge freedom, not to see it shrink."

● A key Administration assumption about containing inflation is that wage settlements would put less upward pressure on costs this year than they did last year. Rep. Thomas Curtis (R.-Mo.), however, demonstrates that the first quarter of 1966 is proving this untrue. The Bureau of National Affairs, Curtis notes, has recently reported that the over-all median wage increase for the first quarter, based on 522 agreements, is 9.1 cents—up more than 1 cent from the comparable period last year.

● Federal aid turndown: Culver-Stockton College in Canton, Mo., has just turned down $178,188 in federal grants from the United States Office of Education. Dr. Fred Helsabeck, college president, remarked that it was a matter of freedom. Said Helsabeck: " . . . the board of trustees has voted respectfully to decline the grant for which we had earlier applied in the belief that Culver-Stockton can obtain private community support which over the entire program would permit greater economies and greater freedom in the use of facilities."

● The Medicare program voted into law last year has not yet begun operation and nobody knows how it will work out. Nevertheless, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N.Y.) has already proposed adding $2 billion to the program to expand medical, hospital and nursing care for the elderly.

● United Auto Workers' President Walter Reuther, a frequent White House visitor, has put the Big Three automobile manufacturers on notice that he won't sign a basic agreement next year unless the companies guarantee the auto workers an annual wage. In his keynote address to the UAW convention, Reuther asked for, and received, support from his union for a proposal to go out on strike if the auto manufacturers don't come across.

● The Administration's claim that it has been solving the balance-of-payments problem was blown out of the water by statistics released by the Treasury Department last week. They reveal a whopping deficit of $582 million for the first quarter of 1966, a great increase over the $340 million quarterly average for 1965 as a whole.

● The militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee may turn even more militant in the very near future. The civil rights organization last week unceremoniously dumped two of its radical leaders, John Lewis and James Foreman, supposedly because they were cooperating too closely with whites. The new chairman of the group, Stokey Carmichael, helped organize an all-Negro group in Alabama called the Black Panther society. Carmichael has been quoted as saying: "To ask Negroes to get in the Democratic party is like asking Jews to join the Nazi party." Even an aide to Martin Luther King has called the Black Panther idea "racism in reverse."

● Administration policy toward Red China has thrown our Asian allies into a state of agitation. So unnerving have been our recent actions that the Republic of China is conducting a full-scale investigation into America's Asian diplomacy. What has aroused intense concern, particularly among the free Chinese, are statements by Dean Rusk and Hubert Humphrey indicating that America is prepared to trade with Mao's mainland nation. Chinese diplomats, furthermore, are known to be burning at the Johnson Administration's encouragement of a West European consortium to supply Red China with a steel mill.

● Radicals, ultra-liberals and a loose assortment of "New Leftists" are busily trying to organize a third party movement in time to make it a threat to President Johnson in the 1968 presidential election. According to the **Insider's Newsletter**, the leftists want to run Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) for President and Dr. Martin Luther King for Vice President. Both have reportedly been approached and given their tentative approval of a draft.

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NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Due to the ever-increasing flow of news (managed and otherwise) emanating from the Capitol, **Human Events** is expanding its Washington coverage. Beginning with this issue, readers will find our special Washington report on pages 2, 3 and 4. This enlarged format will permit greater and more timely coverage, keeping you more fully informed about the most important news of the week.

Conservative Optimism Grows

Political pundits who had fervently hoped for the death of conservatism in the GOP after the 1964 elections are due to be disappointed in November. A quick glance at some important contests around the country reveals that GOP conservatives have rebounded with a bang:

TOWER

• Ohio. As noted in this space two weeks ago, Donald E. (Buz) Lukens scored a stunning upset victory in the primary over two opponents, one a state senator supported by the regular GOP organization. Lukens, a Goldwater Republican, has been a member of the conservative youth group, Young Americans for Freedom, and recently attended YAF's fifth anniversary dinner in Washington. He is expected to win in November.

• Texas. The liberal Democrats have long had their hearts set on defeating conservative Sen. John Tower, elected to the Senate by a slim margin back in 1961. The Tower forces, however, are jubilant over some good news they received following the sweep of the Texas Democratic primary by Gov. John Connally's moderate and conservative forces. John Kraft, a New York pollster used by such politicians as John Lindsay and by both the Democratic and Republican National Committees, completed a poll for Tower which showed him leading his Democratic opponent, Waggoner Carr, by 44 per cent to 39 per cent. Last fall, Tower was ahead of Carr by only one percentage point.

The Kraft survey also included some encouraging results on several questions that figure to be major issues in the campaign. One dealt with how serious Texans regard inflation. The outcome: 71 per cent think it a "very serious" problem. Forty-one per cent of those polled also wanted the United States to step up the war effort in Viet Nam, with only 30 per cent feeling the Administration was doing enough. Tower, it is noted, has been a champion of both economy and a tougher line in Viet Nam.

• California. Fast-breaking events in California appear to be helping the GOP's conservative candidate

Ronald Reagan meets housewives in Los Angeles backyard.

for governor, Ronald Reagan. Recent polls, for example, reveal that the actor-turned-politician is still favored to win the June primary over his nearest opponent, George Christopher, former mayor of San Francisco and a Rockefeller supporter in 1964.

Moreover, Democratic Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown is finding himself in deeper political trouble as new issues continue to stir the Golden Staters. One centers around a State Senate subcommittee's report that the Berkeley campus is a refuge for communism and immorality. Critics of Brown say that he shares in the blame since he's president of the university's board of regents and failed to control the situation. (For more on this report, see page 7.) Brown is also being blamed for the California Supreme Court's decision declaring unconstitutional an overwhelmingly approved statewide housing referendum which would have allowed a property owner to sell or rent his home to anyone for any reason (see front page story). Voters are blaming Brown because he appointed the members of the court and actively opposed the referendum.

• Nebraska. Sen. Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.) has been one of the GOP conservatives the Democrats were openly boasting they could oust in 1966, but the signs now show that Curtis will probably win—despite a recent visit to the White House by his Democratic opponent, Gov. Frank B. Morrison. Curtis, who ran unopposed in Nebraska's recent primary, polled over 155,000 votes, some 40,000 more than the combined vote in the Democratic Senate primary. Curtis received 60,000 more votes than Morrison, while Morrison's relatively unknown opponent, Raymond Arndt, racked up a surprising 25,000 votes, many of which are expected to go over to Curtis in the fall.

Many Nebraskans, say the pros, have become disillusioned with Gov. Morrison, who is not heralded for his political courage. As governor, for example,

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

he refused to take a stand on laws establishing a state income tax and removing a tax exemption of $200 for personal property owners. He let these measures pass without signing or vetoing them.

Highly erratic, Morrison once charged Curtis with being for "socialism" because he supported Social Security (Lincoln *Evening Journal* and Nebraska *State Journal*, Jan. 8, 1954). Recently (May 13, 1966) the same newspaper quoted Morrison as charging Curtis with being part of the "far, far right." Morrison, then pitching his own tune to the far, far left, attacked Curtis for having "voted for the Southeastern [sic] Asia Treaty Organization which committed the United States to the defense of South Viet Nam." The Cornhuskers, say the pros, aren't going to fall for Morrison's political shenanigans.

• Alabama. John Grenier, one of Goldwater's top lieutenants in the 1964 presidential race, is considered to have an excellent chance of whipping tired John Sparkman, a New Deal, Fair Deal, "Great Society" Democrat. Grenier is credited with reshaping the Alabama Republican party into a significant force and at the '64 GOP national convention he delivered 271 out of a possible 279 Southern delegate votes for Goldwater. Alabama, which went overwhelmingly for the Arizonan, is now expected to go for Grenier.

• New Mexico. A sleeper in the Senate race in New Mexico is former State Rep. Anderson Carter, 39, a Democrat turned Republican and state chairman of Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign. Carter, young and energetic, is given more than an outside chance to beat Sen. Clinton Anderson (71), whose health has been poor in recent years.

These are just a few of the contests in which conservatives are expected to make a good showing. Indeed, as M. Stanton Evans describes on page 8, there is little reason for conservatives to be downcast at their prospects for future victory.

Conscripted Welfare Workers?

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara's address before the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Montreal, Canada, has created a swirl of controversy in the Nation's Capital. Cleared by the State Department and the White House, his speech is believed to have been a Johnson trial balloon in the field of both foreign and domestic affairs, in spite of denials now by official government sources. Few can believe that the White House didn't thoroughly comb the draft McNamara sent over, since the defense secretary is clearly one of LBJ's closest advisers.

Regarding American diplomacy, McNamara did more than just say we should build "bridges" to both the Soviet Union and Red China. He also made this startling statement:

"There are many ways in which we can build bridges. . . . We can do so with properly balanced trade relations, diplomatic contacts, and in some cases even by exchanges of military observers."

Is the Administration now planning to engage in trade with Red China? Are we planning to exchange "military" observers with Communist countries? And for what reason would they be exchanged? These are only some of the perplexing and unsettling questions raised by the defense secretary.

The words that caught the headlines, however, were McNamara's statement that every young American should devote two years of service to the government, whether in the Army or out.

"As matters stand," declared McNamara, "our present Selective [Service] system draws on only a minority of eligible young men.

"That is an inequity. It seems to me that we could move toward remedying that inequity by asking every young person in the United States to give two years of service to his country—whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad."

The thought plainly conveyed (though White House spokesmen now deny it) is that young Americans will be compelled to serve in federal "social welfare" agencies if they do not qualify for the draft.

The White House is now stressing that McNamara was only urging those not in the military to volunteer for government service, but Pentagon insiders say this isn't so—that McNamara was considering legislation which would force young Americans to serve in federal programs if they couldn't qualify for the military.

Liberals immediately lavished praise on the proposal. Sargent Shriver, interpreting McNamara's remarks to mean that he desired to conscript young people into federal welfare service, said no one is better qualified than McNamara to judge that service in the Peace Corps and similar volunteer programs "can be equated to military service without jeopardizing our fighting strength." Some commentators remarked that this was the proposal of the "peaceniks" and "draft card burners" who have frequently asked to serve in the federal government's volunteer welfare programs as an alternative to the draft.

Eastland Offers Security Bill

As a result of the detailed Senate Security subcommittee investigation of the Otto Otepka case (27 volumes have already been published), Sen. James Eastland (D.-Miss.), the subcommittee chairman, has introduced on behalf of himself and three other senators a bill to help clean up the deplorably lax security procedures followed by the State Department. The bill (S. 3388) is also sponsored by Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.), Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) and Roman Hruska (R.-Neb.), all high-ranking subcommittee members.

Otto Otepka is the State Department security expert who was fired from his job after digging into the record of William Wieland, the foreign service officer who suppressed vital information on Field Castro's background from reaching his superiors.

For his pains in uncovering Wieland's bad record, Otepka was relieved of his duties. Wieland, however, was "cleared" of any wrongdoing and how has a plush foreign service job in Australia.

The Eastland bill, say anti-Communist experts, would go a long way toward improving the present security operations at State. Its more important provisions would:

• Guarantee continued existence of the Passport Office, the Visa Office and the position of director of both offices. This provision was considered necessary because the hearings revealed a State Depart-

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ment plot to abolish the passport division and the post of director, currently headed by security-conscious Frances Knight.

• Assure that no State Department employe will be prohibited from communicating directly or indirectly, orally or in writing, with members or committees of the Congress. (Among other reasons the department gave for firing Otepka: He transmitted information to Congress.)

• Write into law the present provision of State Department security regulations prohibiting reinstatement or reemployment of a foreign service officer or other officer or employe of the department discharged for security reasons.

Red Trade Battle Goes On

A little-known story, even on Capitol Hill, is the tale of how all 11 Republicans on the House Agriculture Committee—along with several Democrats—fought over a three-month period and finally succeeded in blocking the Administration from scrapping the restrictions on Communist trade in our Food for Peace program (Public Law 480). Under this law, the United States sells subsidized farm goods to foreign countries.

FINDLEY

In its frenetic efforts to expand trade with the Communist enemy, the Administration originally introduced a bill to replace completely P.L. 480, cleansing the "new measure" of all clauses in the P.L. 480 law which impeded sales of surplus agricultural goods to Communist nations.

Disliking the idea of throwing out the old law, committee members quickly transformed the Administration measure into an amendment to P.L. 480. Then, largely under the leadership of such Republicans as Paul Findley (Ill.), Page Belcher (Okla.), Charles Teague (Calif.) and Albert H. Quie (Minn.), the committee members adopted a host of restrictive amendments which will positively prevent the Administration from sending subsidized American farm goods to Red countries and/or friendly countries doing business with North Viet Nam or Cuba.

The Findley-Teague amendment adopted by the committee, in fact, has tossed the appeasement crowd in the Administration into a tailspin.

Under this measure, no nation which sells or furnishes material of any kind to North Viet Nam or Cuba or permits ships or aircraft under its registry to aid these Red nations will be entitled to government subsidized sales of farm commodities under Title I of the new act. Hence, this amendment not only blocks aid to amost every Communist country but shuts it off to such countries as India unless they refuse to do business with North Viet Nam and/or Cuba.

The Administration is desperately seeking a way to reverse the committee's action, but failed several times last week. Chairman Harold Cooley (D.-N.C.), for example, offered an amendment to committee members on May 18 to weaken the Findley-Teague approach by limiting the food ban to nations which sell only military or strategic goods to North Viet Nam or Cuba. With some members recalling that this Administration didn't feel a steel mill to Red China was a "strategic" item, a solid bloc of 11 Republicans and several Democrats shot it down.

Administration supporters also attempted to repeal the Quie amendment which would hinder the federal government in offering food "gifts" to Communist countries.

The battle to retain these anti-Communist amendments, however, is not yet over, as LBJ is putting on the pressure to have them struck down when the bill reaches the House floor. (*Human Events* readers who don't relish the idea of having America trade with the enemy are urged to write their congressmen to keep the Findley-Teague-Quie amendments in P.L. 480.)

AID Mess in Viet Nam

Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.), just back from South Viet Nam, reports that "mismanagement and misuse of our foreign aid drastically impair our efforts" to rebuild the war-wracked nation. Investigation by Griffin disclosed:

• Of 3,000 Agency for International Development (AID) officials stationed in South Viet Nam, only two are concerned with the Commodity Improvement Program which costs the U.S. government $370 million a year.

• There is no reliable system for determining whether items imported under the AID program ever reach the people for whom they are intended.

• Although the AID program is supposed to check inflation, the cost of living in Saigon has soared 50 per cent in the past year.

AID controls are so "inadequate and lax," Griffin said, that "we're subsidizing millionaires who deposit their money in banks in Europe and who want the war to continue." AID has served to make the rich —chiefly the former French colonialists—even richer and has provided grist for the Communist propaganda mill, Griffin said.

U. S. troops battle near Cambodian border.

Griffin made the trip as ranking Republican on a House Government Operations subcommittee. Upon his return from Saigon he was appointed to the Senate, filling the vacancy caused by the death of Sen. Pat McNamara (D.-Mich.).

Rep. John E. Moss (D.-Calif.), who accompanied Griffin on the South Vietnamese trip, reports that some U.S. aid flows into the black market where profiteers line their pockets and the Viet Cong get credit to line their tunnels. Cement intended for South Vietnamese has been found lining Viet Cong tunnels, Moss said. Machinery has been found on its way to the Viet Cong.

LBJ Courts the 'Fat Cats'

Claiming to champion the "little man," this Administration is rapidly becoming the hero of the "fat cats." That, at least, is the opinion of a number of political observers as they watch LBJ and Co. steamroller through Congress legislation which will do far more to line the pockets of rich businessmen, wealthy labor bosses and financial institutions than fill the stomachs of the poor.

A case in point is the controversial rent subsidy program which will guarantee federal subsidies to landlords for as long as 40 years.

Last week the Administration's alliance with the "fat cats" was even more flagrant as 206 Democrats—not a Republican on their side—jammed through the House the "Participation Sales Act" of 1966 (see rollcall on page 15).

Under this measure, government agencies can obtain funds for loans—not through the normal route of congressional appropriations—but by selling at high interest rates shares in a pool of government loans already outstanding. These are to be known as "participation certificates."

Actually devised as a budget gimmick to hide full government spending from the public eye, the law will permit certain federal agencies to borrow and spend untold billions of dollars a year without a cent of it showing up in the formal national debt or the familiar administrative budget. In debate on the bill, Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) said "if this bill is passed, it would be possible for the Administration to operate with $30-billion deficits between now and 1968 and not show as a deficit as far as the American people are concerned."

The act, however, turns out to be more than a piece of budgetary legerdemain; it is also a means by which rich people can become richer with no risks involved.

Under the measure, the wealthy will be able to purchase government securities (participation certificates) at an interest rate of 5.5 per cent or more, far above the legal interest rate limit of 4.25 per cent on long-term Treasury bonds. A man of moderate means, moreover, will not be able to afford these federally guaranteed securities since no share can be sold for less than $5,000.

As Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N. Y.), a leading opponent of the bill, sarcastically summed up the measure: "Fat cat cooperation has been bought in advance so that the President can have a budget gimmick to save his political hide.

"Why do I say this? I say it because the little guy, the man on the street, has been cut out of this windfall. The Administration is limiting participation certificates to denominations of $5,000 or over . . . . If you don't have $5,000, then you have to buy government bonds. You can believe all the patriotic posters and line up at the window to buy government bonds. You will not get a high interest rate being a patriot. You will do much better if you sneak around to the back door where the President is going to give the fat cats 5.5 per cent on their money just for clipping coupons and helping the President of the United States put one over on the American people."

Yet the Democrats, including old "populist" Wright Patman (D.-Tex.), the chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee and a constant prater against high interest rates, campaigned suprisingly hard for this new measure—even though it was opposed by not only Republicans but leaders in the AFL-CIO, the National Farmers Union and the National Grange.

When Rep. Fino introduced an amendment to the bill so that participation certificates could be issued in denominations of *less* than $5,000, the Democrats smacked it down. Rep. Richard Ottinger (D.-N. Y.), in fact, desperately wanted to amend the bill so certificates would be issued in denominations not lower than $15,000.

When the Democrats, time and again, turned down other measures to improve the Participation Sales Act, Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) was moved to remark:

"I have heard it said that the Democratic party was the party of the little people. This afternoon I have seen them vote against every amendment in behalf of the little people." The Democrats, he insisted, are "making the fat cats fatter. . . ."

• *Sen. Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska) may not like the fact, but his words are being quoted by Communist Yugoslavia to prove that America is the aggressor nation in Viet Nam. Belgrade's International News Service recently quoted Gruening as saying in a speech to students at Bucknell University in Pennsylvania: "It is difficult to admit, but I am coming to the conclusion that the United States is an aggressor in Viet Nam. . ."*

Rocky's Socialized Medicine

With Administration Democrats beating the bushes to broaden the coverage of the barely established federal Medicare program, politicos are now wondering if it will shortly resemble Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's "state medicare" program for New York.

The Rockefeller program, put over with the aid of the Democrats, will actually be subsidized under portions of the federal Medicare law. Signed by the governor on April 30, it will pay the bills that up to seven million New Yorkers incur for medical, dental, nursing and other health services as well as bills for hospitals, drugs and appliances. Generally, a family of four with one wage earner would be eligible if its annual income—after deducting income taxes and health insurance premiums—was no more than $6,000.

County welfare officials, in the process of enrolling applicants, say they have no idea how much this program is going to cost, but they estimate it in the billions. In Rochester, Marion B. Folsom, former U.S. secretary of health, education and welfare, asserted: "This is socialized medicine. . . . It's just free medical care for everything."

In Auburn, N.Y., Welfare Commissioner Robert Murphy estimated that 70 per cent of his city's 35,000 residents would be eligible for free medical care. He called the Rockefeller program "a giveaway, a political program."

Yet with "kiddie care" in the offing and liberal Democrats and Republicans attempting to expand the untested Medicare program, many are predicting that federal health plans will soon be in just as much of a mess as the Rockefeller scheme in New York.

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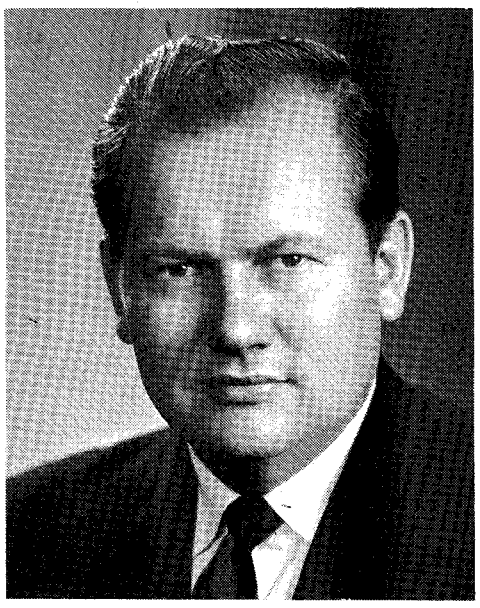
EDA Trying to Spend $250 Million by July 1

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson's frequent admonitions to businessmen and consumers to hold down spending are directly counter to what he himself is doing.

The Economic Development Administration, on White House orders, is laboring strenuously to pump out more than $250 million before July 1—start of the new fiscal year when this money, if unspent, would revert to the treasury.

Not only would that be a big saving to taxpayers, but a direct and helpful



Rep. William Cramer (R.-Fla.) can get no information from the Economic Development Administration—successor to ARA.

curb on the inflation the President professes to be so concerned about.

But this isn't the way EDA is functioning. Instead of striving to economize and cut spending, the agency, headed by Assistant Commerce Secretary Eugene Foley, is pouring hundreds of millions into the already super-charged national economy in a race against the July 1 deadline.

This means that if he succeeds, and there is no reason to believe he won't, in the next six weeks he will dispense $253.437 million in grants and loans for a wide variety of state and local projects.

The Economic Development Administration, successor to the Area Redevelopment Agency, set up in the Kennedy Administration, was approved by Congress in the closing weeks of the 1965 session. Its avowed aim is to create jobs by making grants and loans to state and local agencies and nonprofit private organizations for public works and new industries. Foley, former head of the Small Business Administration, was put in charge of this "Great Society" operation.

At the President's urging, Congress voted EDA $332.425 million. In its first eight months it ladled out $78.988 million. That leaves $253.437 million still to be disposed of by July 1.

Credited as playing a leading role in this partisan blackout is Francis Dooley, former staff member of the Democratic National Committee, and now EDA's liaison official with Congress.

Dooley reputedly told one Republican committeeman bluntly that the GOP got most of the public works projects in the Eisenhower Administration and now it's the Democrats' turn. A committee staff member attributes to Dooley the statement that information about EDA is obtainable only through Democratic committeemen.

Inquiries by this column at EDA met a similar blank wall.

Nothing could be ascertained on how funds are allocated, projects selected, who makes such decisions and on what basis. One significant item was ferreted out—that the agency still has not drawn up guidelines on projects.

One official claimed "tentative" guidelines are being used. But he flatly refused to allow them to be examined.

In congressional circles, the opinion is general that EDA projects are scrutinized by the White House before being approved. If that is so, it means political considerations are determining them.

It's a safe conjecture the White House and Foley will see to it that the one-quarter-billion dollars is spent. None of it will be left to revert to the treasury—despite the righteous lectures about the danger of inflation and the need for restraint and economy.

This is a crucial election year, and EDA's millions have an irresistible pork-barrel lure. Strongly indicating that is the partisan manner in which EDA is operating.

Republicans are bluntly being excluded. Their attempts to find out what EDA is doing and how have run into an impenetrable wall of secrecy. Not even members of the congressional committees that handled the EDA legislation and are charged with overseeing it have been able to penetrate this bureaucratic barrier.

Graphically illustrative is the experience of Rep. William Cramer, of Florida, ranking Republican on the House Public Works Committee. He and GOP staff members have repeatedly been rebuffed. Cramer sent a scorching letter to Commerce Secretary John Connor protesting this partisan blackout.

"Repeated requests for information have been summarily refused," Cramer wrote, "apparently as part of a calculated effort to deprive members of Congress and members of the staff of House committees of learning what is going on."

Connor has yet to answer, and there is no indication when and if he will.

"We haven't asked for confidential information," explains Cramer. "All we have sought is the usual data needed by a congressional committee, such as ours, that is charged with the responsibility of overseeing a new agency and program. All we asked for was information on such things as rules, regulations, criteria governing the functions and operations of EDA, lists of approved projects and the standards and guidelines used in approving them, organizational charts and the names of key officials running the show.

"But we've gotten nowhere. We haven't even been able to get on the EDA mailing list for press releases. That's how tightly secret they are."

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New Left-Wing Cause:

U.S. 'Crimes' in Indonesia

By VICTOR LASKY

It was bound to happen. Left-wingers here in New York City have launched an effort to pin the blame on the United States for the recent massacre of tens of thousands of Indonesian Communists.

And, as usual, they have obtained the support of Lord Bertrand Russell, who used to be one of Britain's most famous logicians.

"The massacres in Indonesia demand an international investigation and I congratulate those who have initiated it," Lord Russell is quoted in an advertisement appearing in the pro-Communist *National Guardian*.

The advertisement is for a meeting June 2 at the McMillin Theater of Columbia University sponsored by something called Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF). Needless to say, this group is not opposed to communism.

Announced speakers include Eric Norden, listed as "journalist"; Andrew March, of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University; and Mark Lane, listed as a former New York state assemblyman. Mr. Lane, a left-wing lawyer, is perhaps better known as a defender of presidential assassin Lee Harvey Oswald.

Purpose of the meeting, according to the advertisement, is to launch "a commission of world public figures to assemble [to] let the world know what happened in Indonesia." But the sponsors already claim to know what happened in Indonesia. For they say, "A comprehensive and thorough investigation of U.S. involvement in the coup must be made."

This, of course, is a reference to the smashing of the Communist effort to seize power last October by assassinating the army's high command. The plot backfired and, as a result, the Indonesian Army took control.

In recent weeks reports filtering out of Indonesia have described an incredible slaughter of tens of thousands of left-wingers of all descriptions in that troubled country. Anti-Communists have been quoted as saying, "It was either them or us." Had the Communists successfully seized power, they added, anti-Communists by the many thousands would have been butchered.

Though estimates have varied as to the extent of the butchery, the *National Guardian* advertisement claimed that 300,000 were murdered in Indonesia. "In the seven months since the right-wing coup in Indonesia, more people have been killed than in 15 years of war in Viet Nam," according to the "ad."

Of course, had "right-wingers" been slaughtered in such great numbers in Indonesia, left-wingers here would probably have arranged a great celebration at Columbia University's McMillin Theater.

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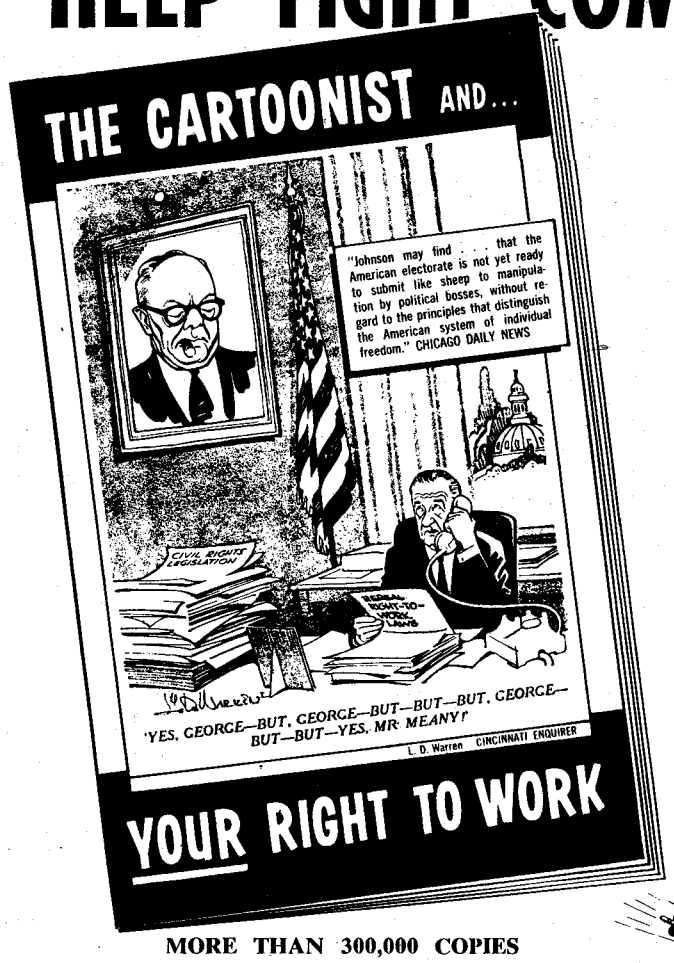
HELP FIGHT COMPULSORY UNIONISM


THE CARTOONIST AND...
"Johnson may find . . . that the American electorate is not yet ready to submit like sheep to manipulation by political bosses, without regard to the principles that distinguish the American system of individual freedom." CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION
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Richmond News Leader, 2/11/66

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Will the Young Radicals Learn from Phil Luce's Experience?

By PROF. PHILIP M. CRANE

". . . When massive violence comes, the U.S.A. will become a bedlam of confusion and chaos. The factory workers will be afraid to venture out on the streets to report for their jobs. The telephone workers and radio workers will be afraid to report. All transportation will grind to a complete standstill. Property will be damaged and expensive buildings will be reduced to ashes. Essential pipelines will be severed and blown up and all manner of sabotage will occur. Violence and terror will spread like a firestorm."

This splenetic quotation comes from the pen of an expatriate American, Robert Williams, a young Negro who served his country in the Marine Corps, but who now serves the Communist cause in Cuba.

'The New Left'
By Phillip Abbott Luce
David McKay Co.
New York; 1966
214 pages; $4.50

Just a few years back most Americans would have scoffed at the possibility of such a development in the United States. Not so since Harlem and Watts.

Williams adds:

> The new concept of revolution defies military science and tactics. The new concept is lightning campaigns conducted in highly sensitive urban communities and spreading to the farm areas. . . . The new concept is to huddle as close to the enemy as possible so as to neutralize his modern and fierce weapons. The new concept creates conditions that involve the total community, whether they want to be involved or not. It sustains a state of confusion and destruction of property. . . . During the hours of the day sporadic rioting takes place and massive sniping. Night brings all-out warfare, organized fighting and unlimited terror against the oppressor and his forces.

Sound familiar? On July 18, 1964, Bill Epton, a Harlem leader of the Peking-oriented Progressive Labor party (PLP) shouted before an open-air rally on the eve of the riots there:

> We will not be fully free until we smash this state completely and totally. Destroy and set up a new state of our own choosing and our own liking . . . and in the process of smashing this state we're going to have to kill a lot of these cops, a lot of these judges, and we'll have to go up against their army. We'll organize our own militia and our own army.

Other recent activities of the New Left include stashing arms to be used for the "revolution," burning draft cards and encouraging draft-dodging among students, staging riots in protest over the Administration's Viet Nam policy, raising money, blood contributions and even volunteers to be used in the fight against American boys in Viet Nam.

The New Left is the title of a book by a defector from the ranks of the Progressive Labor party, Phillip Abbott Luce.

Some readers will doubtless recall Luce's article in *The Saturday Evening Post* (May 8, 1965) in which he explained his reasons for leaving the extreme left.

At that time Luce stated: "I still consider myself a political rebel, I still support the development of a democratic wing in the United States." As late as May of 1965. Luce still felt that he could not associate himself "in this country's interference in the civil war in Viet Nam."

His book, published a year later, evidences a significant change in his views on the Vietnamese war. He would still, undoubtedly, prefer such labels as "democratic left," "political rebel," or "radical" to any others.

But he is an honest young radical who has come to recognize the well-established fact that many of his elders learned in the 1930s and '40s through the same kind of personal anguish Luce has undergone—you cannot play ball with the Communists.

Luce's political thinking, in fact, is still in a state of transition and *The New Left* is valuable not as a statement of what he, as an individual, believes about foreign and domestic policy, but as a statement of what he saw while working with the Communists.

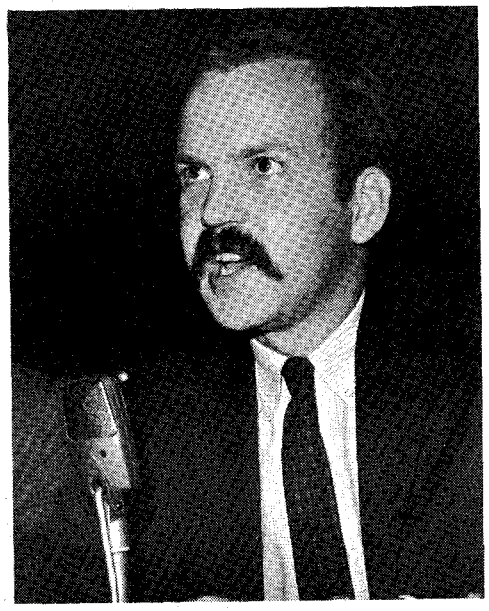
Repeatedly throughout his book Luce seeks to warn young rebels of the danger of being sucked into a united front with such Communist organizations as the Progressive Labor Party, the DuBois Club, Young Socialist Alliance, Spartacists, May Second Movement, and even such non-Communist (but increasingly Communist-sympathizing) organizations as Students for a Democratic Society.

Having risen to a position of leadership within the PLP—one of the most violent of the Communist youth groups—Luce has a first-hand acquaintance with the tortuous and troubled evolution of the New Left.

He knows whereof he speaks and will very likely be more roundly condemned by the doctrinaire Marxists for writing this book than anything he has done to date.

As he explains, the one thing Communists cannot stand is exposure. And he exposes the Communist appropriation of a movement that began for many students simply as political rebellion, but which has since "succumbed to the rigidity of the Communist mentality."

Luce has no illusions about the intellectual honesty of the Communist criti-

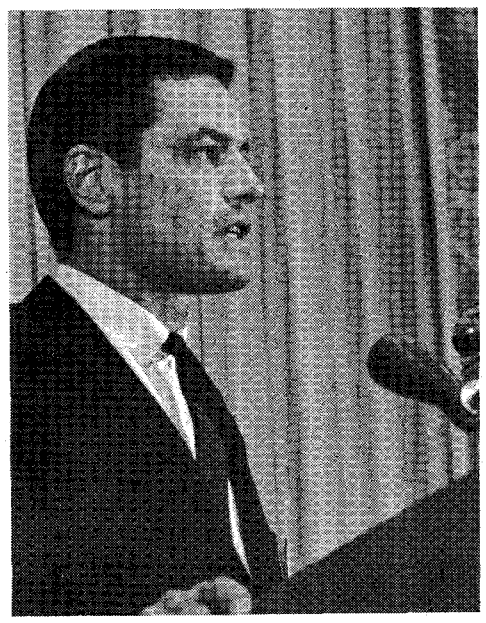


Although conservatives will disagree with many of Phillip Abbott Luce's remarks, they can learn much from the story of his break with communism.

cisms of our Viet Nam policy. He explains:

> Only recently have I fruitfully re-examined much of my opposition to the war in Viet Nam. During these past months, I have struggled with my previous Communist indoctrination and heartfelt support for the Viet Cong to arrive at an understanding of the reality that Communist aggression, just like Fascist aggression, must be condemned by all forward-looking people and stopped by concerted action.

Further, Luce views such groups as PLP as sufficiently subversive to warrant direct governmental action against them. "This is not a group of young people simply flaunting their alienation from society and parents," he declares. "This is a cult of true believers. . . . Progressive Labor is dangerous to our democracy and especially dangerous to its own members who have little idea of the hidden objectives of the leaders whom they follow."



Dr. Crane is an assistant professor of history at Bradley University, Peoria, Ill. He is the author of the widely acclaimed book, Democrat's Dilemma.

This coming from one of the former "leaders" of this organization, is a warning not to be taken lightly.

"Underground" workshops in subversion, guerrilla warfare, sabotage and espionage, the smuggling of arms into New York City, all such actions indicate the deadly seriousness of the young Communists in America.

"The New Left and the young Communists can be effectively countered," Luce argues, "once we get down to the serious business of combating both the political issues involved and the reasons for the initial appeal of the New Left."

It is interesting to note that one of the concrete proposals (among several) offered by Luce for meeting the first requirement is the establishment by the government of a Freedom Academy "to teach young people about communism and how to fight it effectively."

Perhaps even more interesting are some of the conditions Luce cites as factors responsible for the resurgence of communism in America: (1) various court decisions which have helped the public image of communism; (2) the "peaceful coexistence" policy which obtains today between the United States and the USSR; (3) peace missions, cultural exchanges, and business deals between our countries; (4) a renewed Communist drive to capture the minds of youth in America; (5) the rise of China and Cuba as Communist powers since 1949, which has caused a number of young people to believe that communism is indeed the "wave of the future"; (6) the deterioration of the democratic left, which has left the field open to the Communists.

One point in his book is striking in its redundancy and also its portentousness; viz., the fact that the overwhelming majority of the membership in the New Left (even before the Communists began to control the movement) is emotionally rather than intellectually oriented.

These young people are for the most part non-ideological, pragmatic, activist and romantic.

Prof. Stephen Tonsor recently observed that there might be instructive lessons to be gleaned from studying the last skeptical generation which appeared in Europe in the years prior to World War I.

"Nihilism, sentiment, anarchic personalism, and a politics of activism and engagement were its direct manifestations," according to Tonsor. It was this generation which directly preceded the generation of ideologues who fastened communism upon Russia, nazism on Germany and fascism upon Italy.

"The consequences of the last skeptical generation may somewhat dull our appetite for a politics of sentiment," Tensor concluded.

But there is hope. Luce's book is designed to warn the political rebels on the left of the dangers of flirting with communism.

He correctly observes that the success of the Communists with American youth stems from the failure of the democratic Socialists to provide proper leadership as an alternative to the Communists.

"The democratic left, as a whole . . . contents itself with broadsides against the ultra-right lunatic fringe, and lacks both the energy and the political integrity to disinfect its own political camp," Luce insists.

The League of Industrial Democracy (parent of Students for a Democratic Society) has done little more than wring its hands in anguish over the antics of its youthful heretics. SDS, meanwhile, journeys ever farther down the same path it did in the late '30s when it finally lost its identity in a united front movement with Communist youth groups which devoured it.

But can the aging democratic Socialists of the New Deal era provide the kind of revitalizing influence that will capture the imaginations of today's young rebels?

Are not these individuals too identified with the present power structure to criticize it?

Prof. Ron Hamowy (a conservative history professor at Stanford University) contended in a recent article in the *New Republic* (March 12, 1966), that political rebels such as Luce are actually far closer to contemporary libertarians in their thinking than they are to the gray-bearded New Dealers who spawned them.

Hamowy stated:

> Proponents of a voluntarist society cannot help but be pleased at the emergence of a movement like the New Left. For both share an emotional and moral commitment to the individual and believe that the dehumanization of contemporary society is, at least largely, the result of government encroachment into areas which are less and less controlled by the individual.

Hamowy was, of course, addressing his remarks to the kind of New Left Luce wants to create, not the New Left which has already become moribund owing to its Communist domination.

If Luce can capture the initiative in creating a New Left alternative to the Communist youth groups that is prepared to enter into a meaningful dialogue with the libertarians on the right, America could be on the verge of a new era calculated to restore dignity and meaning to the life of the individual—but most important of all, to maximize individual liberty. This may be the revolt of the young and it may embrace a synthesis of the classical political categories of left and right.

Luce's book will hopefully serve as a tocsin to other honest young rebels to join him in his fight. He writes:

"If the United States, our Constitution, and the spirit of democracy mean anything today, then they are worth retaining even if we have to fight to keep them. Young people daily are giving up their lives in the Vietnamese jungles, just as our parents did in France, Iwo Jima and Korea, for the cause of maintaining freedom against totalitarianism."

Every angry young man—in fact, every concerned citizen—should read this book.

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California state Sen. Hugh Burns, chairman of the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, presents the committee report on the University of California to Secretary of the Senate Joseph Beek (left).

State Senate Report

Berkeley's Chaotic 'Freedom'

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

When California's state senate Committee on Un-American Activities issued a report on May 6 blasting University of California President Clark Kerr for the wild happenings on the Berkeley campus, Kerr and his supporters naturally replied with cries of outraged indignation.

The committee, composed of three Democratic and two Republican senators, charged that Kerr had permitted non-students to move into the on-campus anti-Viet Nam war and "free speech" demonstrations, and that Kerr had ignored complaints from his own chancellor that certain professors were using class time to boost the Viet Cong. The committee also devoted 16 pages to the case of Prof. Eli Katz, who was fired for allegedly lying about Communist affiliations, but who has been rehired for next year by Kerr.

In a general comment on the moral climate of the University of California at Berkeley, the senators charged "disgusting, debased spectacles" on the campus, that a theatrical performance banned in San Francisco was invited to Berkeley, and that a Viet Nam Day Committee dance featured nude photos, marijuana and "blatant sexual misconduct."

To all this, President Kerr has charged "distortions, half-truths and inaccuracies." He challenged the committee to name the Communists on the faculty. Kerr said the university is "by its nature dedicated to freedom in a free society. It can become, consequently, an arena for dissent." He said he supports dissent as necessary for progress.

So the groundwork is laid for the classic defense—the claim that a group of ignorant politicians are attempting to choke free inquiry in a university dedicated to sifting and winnowing in search of the truth. If President Kerr's definition of a Communist is a man who pins his card to his lapel, no one is going to find one on the campus.

But it might be a smart expenditure to give all American college presidents a free trip to visit the campuses of Latin America.

In many Latin American countries, because of the oppressions of military dictators, college campuses become, by constitutional law, a sanctuary from state control. In a number of countries police are not even allowed on the university grounds. The intention was laudable. And the Communists recognized an opportunity.

The infiltration of the faculty was pressed. The activist groups masquerading as students got busy. Campuses seethed with demonstrations and riots. One by one departments were taken over. Non-radical professors were discouraged or driven out. More and more classes became, not dispensers of information, but cadres for revolution. Serious students found preparation poor and the atmosphere for study difficult.

From the Communist point of view, all this made lots of sense. A good university meant a new generation of well-trained youth who would form the nucleus of a solid middle class and a support for genuinely democratic reforms. A wrecked university offered no such threat, but did provide a sanctuary for subversion.

At the same time, the far-left-wingers on faculties in the free countries are almost unanimous in their tolerance of campus misbehavior, whether it involves sex, salacious theater, or even drugs. Any breakdown of morally decent standards contributes to the destruction of colleges as teaching devices and undermines the morale of the new generation.

Yet, oddly, behind the Iron Curtain universities exert a high degree of discipline—almost puritanical discipline—upon their students.

The best that can be said for President Clark Kerr is that he is a naive man. He is not dealing with anti-vivisectionists or One-Worlders or dedicated pacifists. He is dealing with a cynical international conspiracy that has a formula, tried successfully in many countries, for twisting a university out of shape and using the distorted remains for its own purposes.

The process is well under way at Berkeley. Until and unless President Kerr learns a few facts of life in the modern world the citizens of California can only withdraw their children from Berkeley, which they have been doing in large numbers. But it takes quite a bit of guts to demand that the taxpayers continue to support a university which, in its central plaza, is host to something called "The Sexual Freedom League" and signature-seekers for petitions to legalize marijuana.

Naivete and gullibility can be just as disastrous in a college president as in a bank president or a combat general. No academic degree yet invented is guaranteed to confer common sense on its possessor.

There will always be gray areas in the puzzle of academic freedom over which there can be honest dispute. But when a college administration abdicates its authority within its own grounds to beatniks, professional revolutionaries and pot-smokers, what is it protecting?

Hardly "freedom in a free society," unless by "freedom" you mean contrived chaos by the few.

(Copyright 1966, General Features Corp.)

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AN EAGLE'S PLIGHT—The owner of a resort lodge in the Rockies kept an eagle in a large cage for his guests' entertainment. The eagle was well cared for and grew into a healthy, noble bird. But there came a day when a group of visitors expressed resentment that so wild and beautiful a creature should be confined. The lodgekeeper shrugged and opened the door of the cage, but it was impossible to get the bird to leave it. Despite prodding and coaxing, he clung stubbornly to his roost. He had been comfortable, secure and well-fed—and it was evident that he intended to stay that way. There are people like that. They would rather cling to a security that seems permanent than submit themselves to the risks involved in change. Companies have the same characteristics. Some are high-fliers—willing to take a risk—while others are content with the status quo. Why rock the boat? By the way, the owner of the lodge mentioned above died in an unfortunate accident. Litigation over his estate followed and the place was unoccupied for over a year. The eagle was turned loose but he died, too. There wasn't anyone to feed him and he had long since forgotten how to hunt for his own food. —From *Capsuled Comments*

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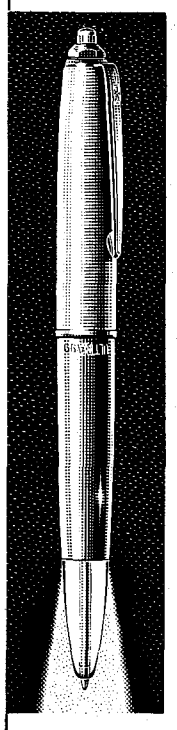
INFLATION: The system whereby if you save up long enough to buy something, you can't afford it.

When is a pen not a pen?



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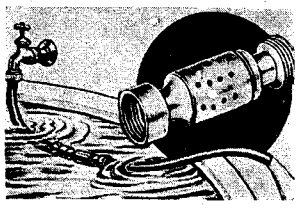

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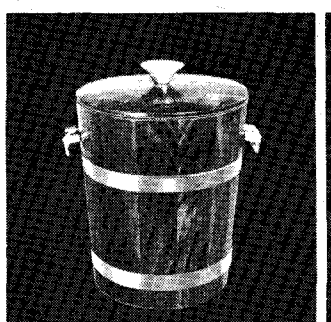

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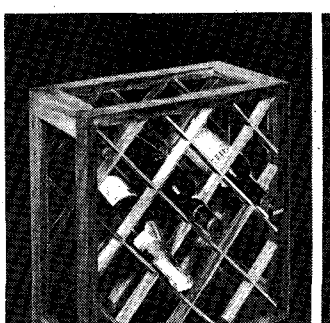

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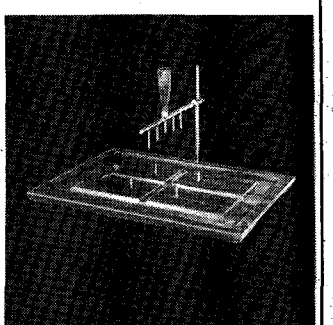

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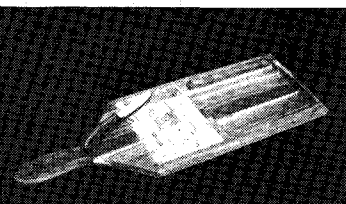

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Outlook for the Presidency

The Vital Arithmetic of Conservative Victory

By M. STANTON EVANS

Americans whose political reading is confined to the New York *Times*, the slick national magazines and the usual quota of liberal columnists may be forgiven if they believe the future of the Republican party belongs to liberalism.

According to these authorities, the 1964 election conclusively settled the fate of American conservatism. Barry Goldwater's defeat, we are told, proved a conservative could not be elected. Having given the right wing its brief stab at glory, the GOP now reverts to the stewardship of the "moderates." If it wants to win national elections, it must henceforth follow the lead of New York Mayor John Lindsay, outflank the Democrats on the left, seek the backing of the urban voting blocs.

So read the analyses of Walter Lippmann, Roscoe Drummond, Robert J. Donovan, the *Times*, *Life*, et al. So, in fact, runs the reflex commentary of many Republicans, including some who are not particularly liberal and ought to know better.

With such a unanimous chorus of assent, the argument is being carried by default. Yet the ironic truth is that every particular of the liberal presentation is in error. There is far more evidence to support the belief that the future of the Republican party belongs to conservatism.

There are essentially two questions at stake in this discussion. First, whether conservatives or liberals are more likely to exercise dominant control in future party conventions. Second, whether a conservative or a liberal GOP stands the better chance of winning a presidential election. In neither category is there much evidence to sustain the well-publicized pretensions of the Republican left:

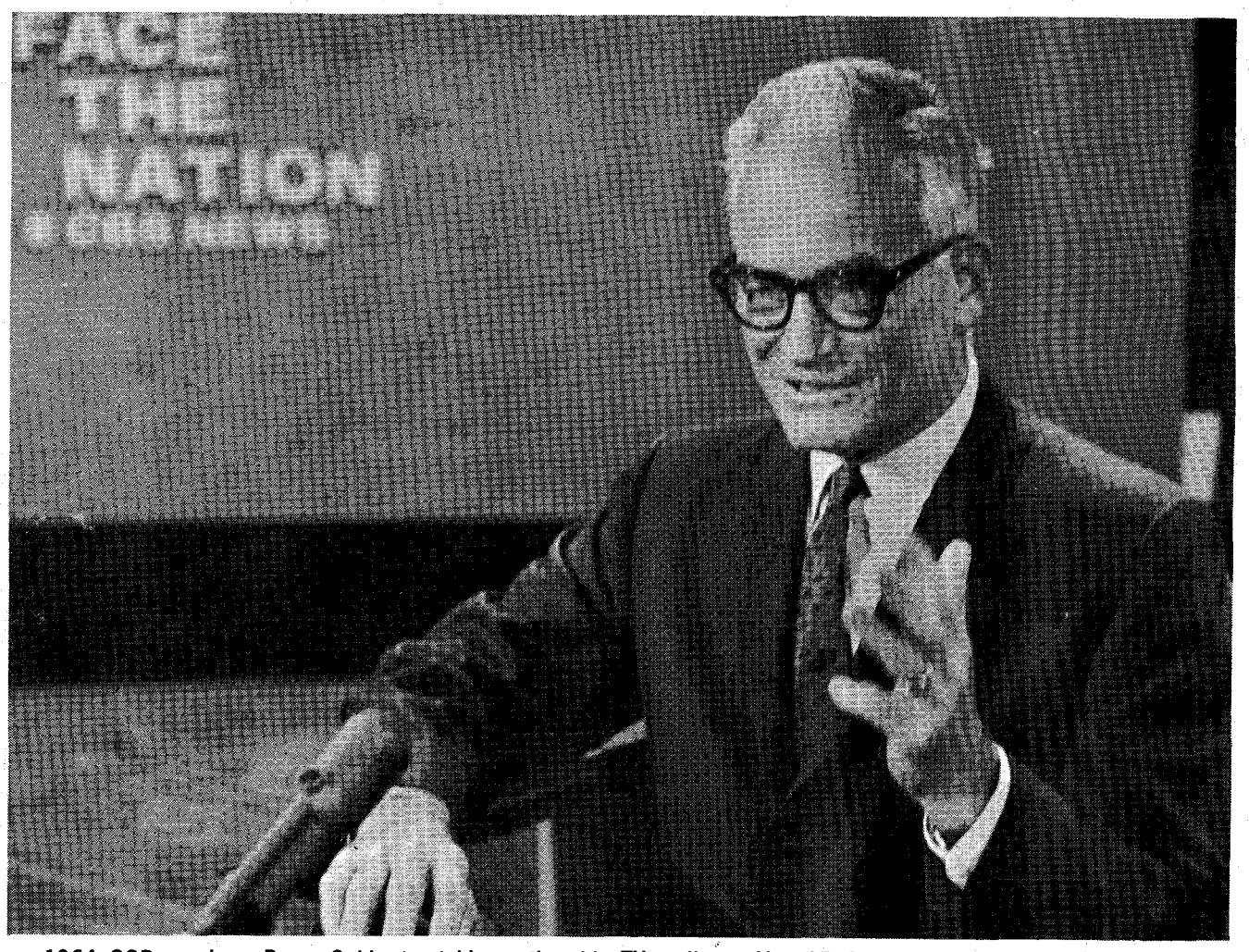
1. *Who Will Control the GOP?* The idea that John Lindsay—or Nelson Rockefeller or William Scranton—is destined to inherit the Republican party has no basis in fact. The conservatives who nominated Goldwater in '64 can effectively control the choice of Republican presidential candidates for the foreseeable future if they become aware of their own strength. This is so because the Midwest-Far West-Southern axis which won for Goldwater is still there, still conservative and still capable of dominating national conventions. Indeed, as a result of '64, this coalition is stronger now in terms of delegate support than it was coming in to San Francisco.

The GOP Wins in Dixie

These three regions have long been theoretically able to command a majority of convention votes. But prior to 1964 they were prevented from doing so by lack of common goals and the almost total absence of an authentic Republican party in the South.

For years the Southern GOP consisted largely of "post office" Republicans whose allegiances were secured by patronage and who were oriented to the Eastern wing of the GOP (thus several conservative Southern states wound up in 1952 opposing the aspirations of conservative candidate Robert A. Taft). For all these reasons there was no coherent nationwide conservative Republican effort prior to 1960. And since the Eastern liberals had the additional advantages of money, press and prestigious connection, they were able to direct Republican conventions virtually at will.

Those days are gone forever. The westward drift of the American population, growing concern over the enormous increase of federal power, the rise of an articulate conservatism with its own channels of communication—all have contributed to a radical transformation of Republican power relationships.



1964 GOP nominee Barry Goldwater told a nationwide TV audience May 15 that conservatives will continue to dominate the Republican party. He said the 1968 national convention would be as conservative as the one which nominated him in 1964.

Most decisive of all has been the development of the two-party South, breaking the hold of the "post office" stalwarts and transferring upwards of 250 GOP delegate votes from the liberal to the conservative column. The tendency of all these things has been to crystallize and solidify the natural conservativism of the Republican majority—a development of which the 1964 convention was the first visible confirmation.

To see what all this means in arithmetical terms we need only examine the delegate strength of the various states in the 1964 convention, dividing them, on a present reading, into "conservative," "liberal" and "undecided" categories. The results, in large part self-explanatory, are as follows:

CONSERVATIVE State	'64 Delegates	LIBERAL State	'64 Delegates	UNDECIDED State	'64 Delegates
South		**East**			
Alabama	20	New York	92	California	86
Arkansas	12	Pennsylvania	64	Ohio	58
Florida	34	New Jersey	40	Missouri	24
Georgia	24	Massachusetts	34	Kentucky	24
Louisiana	20	Connecticut	16	Washington	24
Mississippi	13	Rhode Island	14	Iowa	24
North Carolina	26	Maine	14	New Hampshire	14
South Carolina	16	Total	274	Vermont	12
Tennessee	28			Delaware	12
Texas	56			Grand Total	278
Virginia	30				
Total	279				
Midwest		**Midwest**			
Indiana	32	Michigan	48		
Illinois	58	Minnesota	26		
Wisconsin	30	Total	74		
Kansas	20				
Nebraska	16				
North Dakota	14				
South Dakota	14				
Oklahoma	22				
Total	206				
Rockies		**Other**			
Arizona	16	West Virginia	14		
Colorado	18	Maryland	20		
Idaho	14	Alaska	12		
Montana	14	Hawaii	8		
Nevada	6	Oregon	18		
New Mexico	14	D.C.	9		
Utah	14	Virgin Islands	3		
Wyoming	12	Puerto Rico	5		
Total	108	Total	89		
GRAND TOTAL:	593	GRAND TOTAL:	437		

This list has been compiled to reflect minimum rather than maximum conservative strength. States where rank-and-file Republicans are clearly conservative—Ohio, Missouri, Iowa—have for various reasons been excluded from the conservative column despite the fact that Goldwater made heavy '64 inroads in each of them. These states might well go with the conservative candidate again.

On the other hand, it is conceivable certain states listed as conservative might defect in the other direction. Since it is impossible to calculate such things months in advance, and since shifts of this sort have a way of balancing out, the prudent course is to take the over-all balance on the historical tendency of each state.

On this basis, we find the "conservative" element beginning with 279 delegate votes in the South; 206 delegate votes in the Middle West; and 108 delegate votes in the Far West—for a total of 593 out of 655 needed to nominate. The "liberal" element starts off with a bigger bang than do the conservatives, but ends up with less. Giving the liberal GOP candidate everything in the 17 delegate constituencies listed above, we come up with 437 delegate votes—156 short of the conservative total.

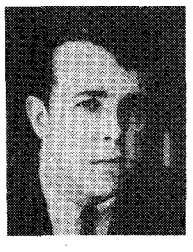
Eastern Control Broken

The nature of the liberal dilemma, on this assessment, is clear. The conservative candidate needs only 62 more votes to achieve nomination. The liberal candidate needs 218. The conservative needs only to carry the California primary—which, as Goldwater demonstrated, he has a very good prospect of doing.

The liberal, on the other hand, would not have the nomination even if he did win the California primary; he would have to take California plus all of the other major disputed areas like Ohio, Missouri, Kentucky, etc. And, as recent history has demonstrated, his chances of winning the California primary would not be particularly good to begin with.

All of this, we reiterate, is calculated on the basis of the 1964 delegate allotment, which by 1968 will be weighted even more heavily in favor of the conservatives.

In addition to losing its dominant place in the population statistics, the East will also lose large chunks of delegate strength as a result of the 1964 presidential vote, whereas Southern states won by Goldwater will gain. It becomes apparent that the task of the liberals is extraordinarily difficult and that the basic advantages in terms of simple convention arithmetic are on the conservative side.



A former managing editor of *Human Events*, M. Stanton Evans joined the Indianapolis *News* in 1959 and became its editor one year later. Now only 31, he is the nation's youngest editor of a major daily. Mr. Evans was graduated *magna cum laude* from Yale in 1955 and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. The author of several books, including *Revolt on the Campus* and *The Liberal Establishment*, Mr. Evans' articles have appeared in many publications, among them *Modern Age*, *Human Events*, *The Freeman*, *National Review*, *The Individualist* and *Christian Economics*. In 1959 and 1960 he received Freedoms Foundation's awards for his editorials and, also in 1960, he won the National Headliners Club award for "consistently outstanding editorial pages." The present article is an excerpt from a forthcoming study entitled "The Future of Conservatism."

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In previous conventions, the string-pullers have been mesmerized by the strength of New York and the other big-city states. If one could merely get the support of these states, so the reasoning runs, half the nomination battle is won. And since New York and other big-city states are liberal, the obvious way to go about getting this support is to adopt the liberal position. Recent events have chipped away at this analysis until there is virtually nothing left of it.

It is true that four of the eight largest states have liberal Republican tendencies—New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan and New Jersey, with a total of 244 delegate votes. But it is frequently forgotten that another four of these states are known to prefer their Republicans in the conservative mould; and these states have more delegate votes than their liberal counterparts. They are California, Ohio, Illinois and Texas—with a total of 258. All of these states were solidly lined up for Goldwater in San Francisco.

Thus the idea that big-city states necessarily lean to liberal Republicans is not correct. This is true only of the Eastern states and of heavily unionized Michigan; and the states where it is not true pack more political muscle than the states where it is true.

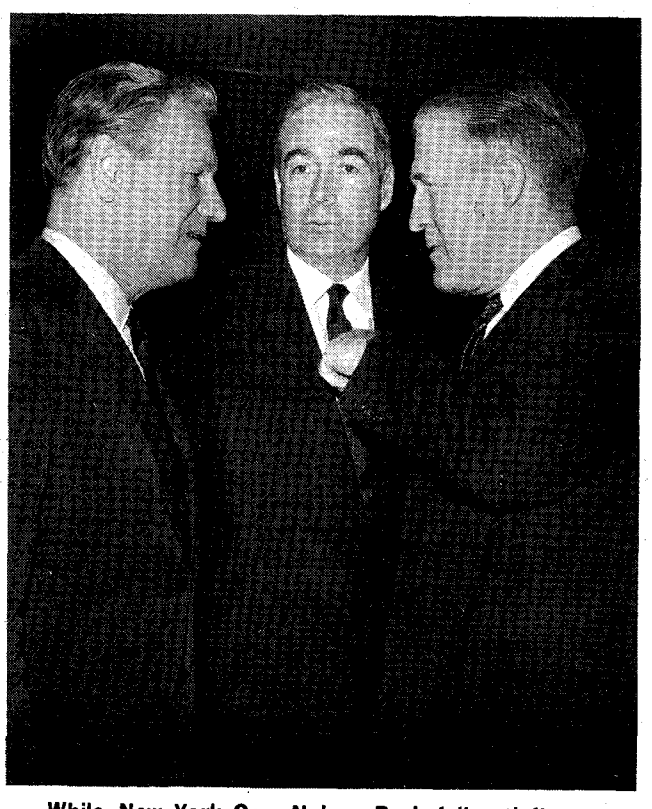
2. *Who Can Win National Elections?* Here again, the New York fixation tends to block out further analysis. As one commentary puts it: " . . . A presidential candidate has to campaign for vital votes in states that are closely contested, such as New York, Michigan and California. Since winning or losing one of these states may hinge on a relatively small number of votes, it is more important for a presidential candidate to influence votes in these states than in the 'one party' states of the South and Southwest that tend to vote conservative."

Or, as another authority opines: "In their efforts to win fiercely competitive national elections, the presidential parties in this century have had to arouse and respond to the waxing city and suburban vote across the country. They have had to support liberal social and economic programs. The presidential 'gerrymandering' and 'winner take all' arrangement of the electoral college, as a result of which the presidential candidates tend to vie for the big, closely contested heavily urban states with their big labor unions and ethnic groups, has forced both presidential parties to the left."

Listing Conservative States

These are very good statements of the way in which the two-party system, for several decades, *has worked*. But they purport to be descriptions of the way it *must work*—as if there were something in the character of the electoral college which dictates this approach to the exclusion of any other. This is clearly untrue—a stereotyped product of the New York fixation.

Again, it will help us to gain perspective if we sort out the states, not according to the New York-plus approach, but on the basis of relative liberalism and conservatism. If we do this we find the states which may be reasonably expected to take a conservative stance in national elections outnumber in total electoral votes the states (including the supposedly decisive big-city states) which can be reasonably expected to take a liberal stance:



While New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller (left) says he is not a candidate for the presidency, both Govs. Scranton of Pennsylvania and Romney of Michigan (right) are prominent in the liberals' plans to "recapture" the GOP.

Mayor John Lindsay of New York City and Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) have ambitions for higher political office, but it is doubtful grass-roots Republicans around the country will support them.

CONSERVATIVE State	'64 Electoral Votes	LIBERAL State	'64 Electoral Votes	UNDECIDED State	'64 Electoral Votes
Alabama	10	Alaska	3	Arkansas	6
Arizona	5	California	40	Delaware	3
Colorado	6	Connecticut	8	Kentucky	9
Florida	14	D. C.	3	Maine	4
Georgia	12	Hawaii	4	Nevada	3
Idaho	4	Maryland	10	New Hampshire	4
Illinois	26	Massachusetts	14	New Mexico	4
Indiana	13	Michigan	21	Vermont	3
Iowa	9	Minnesota	10	Washington	9
Kansas	7	Missouri	12	**Grand Total.....**	**45**
Louisiana	10	New Jersey	17		
Mississippi	7	New York	43		
Montana	4	Oregon	6		
Nebraska	5	Pennsylvania	29		
North Carolina	13	Rhode Island	4		
North Dakota	4	West Virginia	7		
Ohio	26	**Grand Total....**	**231**		
Oklahoma	8				
South Carolina	8				
South Dakota	4				
Tennessee	11				
Texas	25				
Utah	4				
Virginia	12				
Wisconsin	12				
Wyoming	3				
Grand Total..	**262**				

In arriving at these liberal-conservative designations, we have taken account of various factors: Historic tendencies, the kind of people routinely elected to office, evidence of deep-going change in recent elections. We have omitted Maine from the conservative list, for example, because its over-all performance in recent years has been away from the GOP. We have inincluded such states as Kansas and Illinois, where the continued vigor of the GOP and of conservative elements in it indicate responsiveness to conservative Republican principles. We have included all of Dixie except Arkansas, the only Southern state which has not in recent years elected a Republican to federal office or gone Republican in presidential balloting.

In essence, our list of conservative states consists of three groups: The traditional GOP base in the Midwest, the newly Republicanized Rocky Mountain states, and the still more recently Republicanized South. These three areas supply most of the votes needed to achieve an electoral college majority: The Midwest and Rockies, 140; and the South—the biggest single bloc—122.

A candidate who could begin with this base would need to pick up only eight more electoral votes—e. g., Maine and New Hampshire—to be elected President. The key, as in the delegate battle, is the South. If the Republicans could hold their base in the Midwest while carrying the South, they would be within striking distance of the presidency.

To win a national election the Republican party must reach out from its Midwestern homeland and pick up an additional 120 or 130 electoral votes. The New York approach, which tries to secure these extra votes in the Northeast, is assertedly superior to the Southern strategy because Goldwater failed to win the 1964 election.

This neglects the fact that the liberal approach has failed not once but five times, in 1936, 1940, 1944, 1948 and 1960. The two elections in which it seemingly worked—the Eisenhower victories of 1952 and 1956—are generally conceded to have been owing to the candidate's stature as a popular folk hero. In any event, the feat Eisenhower was able to perform was not duplicated in any of the other five GOP presidential campaigns which attempted to emulate the Democrats.

The New York approach has been able to score some local victories where Republicans can unabashedly go all the way in their leftward flanking maneuver, but it has proved incapable of uniting in a single phalanx the conservative Midwest and the liberal East. Why not, Goldwater asked, seek victory for the more conservative of the major parties by uniting the conservative Midwest with the conservative South? Why should the conservative Southern states be written off as hostages to the intensely liberal national Democratic party?

New Electoral Strength

The secret of liberal success in presidential elections has been precisely in forestalling this coalescence of the Midwest and the South. The two analyses quoted above take it as a premise that the liberal big-city states are up for grabs and therefore worthy of Republican effort, but that the South is not. It is assumed that the South is a "one-party" area, which is not "closely contested." This is an obvious anachronism which ignores recent election results.

The state of Alabama today is far more accessible to a Republican presidential candidate than is the state of New Jersey. Moreover, the voting records of Alabamians in Congress are far closer to those of Republicans from the Midwest than are the voting records of New Jersey GOPers. Added to all of which is the fact that the South as a whole contains more electoral votes than do the Eastern states.

When the idea of the "Southern strategy" was first broached, Goldwater's opponents said, among other things, that such an effort could by no stretch of the imagination succeed. There was not a prayer that a Republican could penetrate the Solid South. When Lyndon Johnson became President, this commentary was redoubled. With a "conservative Southerner" in the White House, there was no conceivable chance for a Republican breakthrough in Dixie.

This commentary was badly in error. The one thing Goldwater did achieve, while losing everything else, was precisely the one thing the old assumptions said he could never achieve. And in attaining that supposedly improbable goal he brought about the single most revolutionary development in American politics during the past generation—he succeeded in transferring from the Democratic column an entire bloc of votes which had historically gone against the Republican party; *he succeeded in breaking through to precisely that source of new electoral college strength the Republican party had been seeking, without success, in the big-city states of the East.*

The implications of this breakthrough were, of course, completely obscured by the landslide defeat Goldwater suffered everywhere else throughout the nation; principally, they were obscured by the fact that, while picking up the new electoral votes, Goldwater lost the Republican base—the Midwest and the Rockies. But that base, as even liberal commentators like Robert Donovan concede, is there to be had again by a Republican candidate who stands forth for conservatism but who cannot be successfully pinned with false and diversionary issues; and the South is there to be had as well if the candidate will speak up for conservatism, limited government and states' rights.

Despite Goldwater's defeat, his effort proved the "Southern strategy" is indeed capable of obtaining, at some future date, a conservative presidential majority.

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Auto Safety Laws

More of the Mania for Government Regulation

From the Richmond *News Leader*

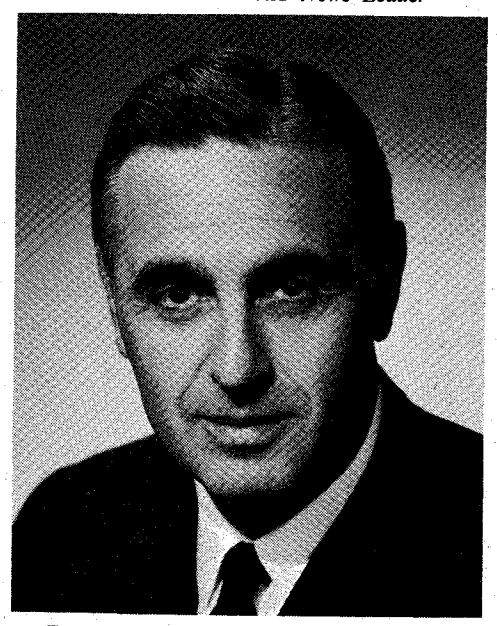
The automobile industry is caught in a pincers movement by its attackers from two sides. The Supreme Court's recent ruling on General Motors' exclusive franchise arrangement in California leaves in doubt the future of the dealer system. Yet the tedious auto safety campaign has served to illuminate at least one fact: The auto companies have used their franchised dealers as the indispensable tool over the year in their own aggressive safety call-back campaigns. The "unsafe" label is ridiculous.

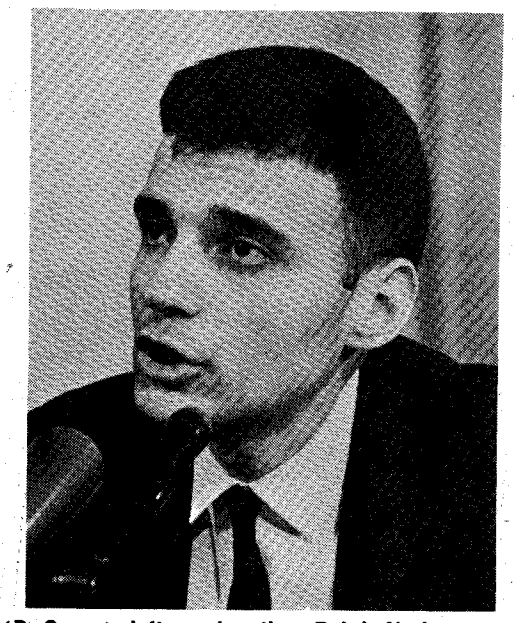
The company reports submitted to Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff (D.-Conn.) are an overwhelming testimony to the manufacturers' remarkable record of eliminating mechanical defects in their products, whether those defects are safety-related or not.

In the past decade, the typical U.S. automobile warranty has increased in its generosity and responsibility. Engineering refinements have reduced the risk of error, while a vastly improved training program and record system have made it possible to track down the exact cars, by serial number, which have the possibility of specified malfunction.

In this search, the franchised dealer plays an important role, since he alone knows who bought the car from him; he also has the trained personnel and substitute parts which may be necessary. GM's call-backs, for instance, are made by certified mail. No other consumer industry has given such a warranty to a product sold.

There is no need to go into the questions of law raised by the California dealership decision. Briefly, the court said that Chevrolet dealers in the Los Angeles area and General Motors had





The charges of Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D.-Conn.) left, and author Ralph Nader will probably cause Congress to enact auto safety legislation.

engaged in a conspiracy to prevent certain of their numbers from selling cars through discount houses. If this anti-trust precedent is pushed further, it will become more difficult for the manufacturers to maintain adequate safety control over the sale and distribution of their products.

Franchised dealers obviously are burdened with a lot of costs that the discounter escapes. Moreover, they must honor the manufacturer's warranty even on cars which the discounter sold. In other product lines, discounters can cut out many unessential services and unprofitable inventory, but a new car buyer's purchase includes both the car itself and the essential services that guarantee safety and satisfaction. In the event of an engineering change, there is no way for the manufacturer to make contact with the man who has bought from the discount house.

The sincere efforts which the automobile industry has made to recall defects should be taken as evidence that the modern automobile is as safe as it purports to be. Everyone knows that he is taking a risk when he gets in an auto, but it is a multiple risk that includes the driver's ability and condition, road conditions and design, the seat he sits in, the kind of seat belts he may or may not wear, the reliability of the manufacturing process, and the design of the basic car structure and of the passenger compartment. If two cars collide, the risks are doubled. In such infinite combinations, it is foolhardy to lay the blame on any single factor.

The current inquiry has not clearly distinguished between the causes of accidents and the causes of injuries. The manufacturer's share in causing the accident would seem to be very infinitesimal indeed; the consumer could very well demand protection from the remote risk of injury if he thought it worth his while to seek special safety features. But there is no evidence of such demand.

Yet the mania for government regulation that has overtaken us in recent years seems to have coincided with the intellectuals' blind distrust of private enterprise and their stupid faith in the institutionalizing of social decisions.

What they hate about private industry is simply that it's private, and not susceptible to shaping by collective decision. They smear the automobile because it is the expression of the common man's taste and not their own; they resent the fact that the auto gives him independence and mobility that no other society ever achieved. They seek to extend the collectivist restraint into that selfish private world on four wheels. They will protect him from the dangerous consequences of his own choice—which is why they label the auto unsafe at any speed.

Freedom of Information Bill

From the Arizona *Republic*

The House Government Operations Committee took a major step in defense of the public's right to examine public records when it recently approved unanimously a "freedom of information" bill (S.1160).

For 20 years federal agencies have been guided by the Administrative Procedure Act, a law so broad that it permits agencies to establish their own policies regarding release of information. A House subcommittee study of 105 agencies found that the result has been the predictable hodgepodge of conflicting procedures.

California Congressman John E. Moss, who long has headed the drive for the freedom of information bill, as far back as 1955 noted that the federal government was withholding information unnecessarily, "not dramatic news, but little bits here and there . . . . Add it all up: the total becomes staggering."

The new measure represents an attempt to insure freedom of information without damaging the right of privacy of individuals or the needs of businesses to keep confidential information from competitors. Therefore, while it establishes the legal principle that every American has the right to examine his government's records, it specifically exempts records in nine categories:

These include national security, personnel files, trade secrets and investigative dossiers of law enforcement agencies.

Should an agency refuse access to information a citizen could appeal in court. And the burden of proof would rest with the government.

It is rumored that President Johnson may veto the bill if, as expected, it passes the House in early summer. (It previously passed the Senate in October.) But Rep. Moss said he did not believe LBJ would block the measure, for he said opposition was more a reflection of the view of Justice Department lawyers than of the White House.

It would be unfortunate if the President did veto the bill, after the struggle for the public's right to know has been waged in Congress for 10 years. As the Senate Judiciary Committee noted in reporting the new measure in October, the present law is of little or no value to the public in gaining access to information.

"Indeed," added the committee, "it has had precisely the opposite effect: It is cited as authority for withholding of virtually every piece of information an agency or official does not wish to disclose."

S.1160 promises to remedy that situation. It deserves to be passed by the House and then signed into law.

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"TO OBEY THE LAW is to support democracy. If every man thinks every law must suit him in order that he shall obey it, he does not support democracy but destroys it. The basis of good government lies in the fact that the people are willing to obey the law as they have determined it to be."—William Howard Taft

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Labor Leaders Want to Monitor Doctors' Bills

By VICTOR RIESEL

Some of the nation's militant labor leaders and their welfare specialists are ruefully considering advising their people to stop supporting the government's voluntary Medicare program and to pull out, if they're in it.

After fighting for it for years, these unionists agree with old Publilius Syrus that there are some remedies worse than the disease.

The union chiefs are angered because they have been cut out of the program incisively by a federal scalpel.

They are saying the voluntary cost —$3 a month, $36 a year ($72 for an elderly couple)—is too high.

Furthermore, they charge that doctors' fees will be excessive and that labor should be monitoring these bills—and now can't.

And not the least of the labor leaders' anxieties is in being cut off from an influential bloc of people whom the unions have serviced for years—the perpetually increasing, strongly organized, ever-active, constantly vocal "retirees."

In some industries, such as steel and auto, workers are now annually retiring by the scores of thousands.

The union officials have been agitated by the government's decision not to do business with the labor movement in

Labor leaders such as United Auto Workers chief Walter Reuther are unhappy because retirees have to pay the annual $36 Medicare charge themselves.

the Medicare operation. In effect, this means that only a few intermediaries will be the go-between, linking perhaps 7,100 hospitals, 17,000 old-age homes and institutions and mushrooming nursing homes.

Such organizations as the Blue Cross and insurance companies will take the hospital bills, provide the money, and finally the reimbursement from the government.

In all, this is expected to exceed some $3 billion in the first full year.

Thus, despite labor's welfare fund servicing of members over the years, the unions will lose contact with their people once they hit 65 and retire.

This is no minute matter in this land where someone turns 65 every 25 seconds.

The words "aged" and "aging" are not in their glossary. Many are organized in the labor-led National Council of Senior Citizens, covering more than 2,000 social, religious, welfare, civil rights and union club organizations. It has two million members in 70 state and area councils.

This is a mighty potent political force —led by the retired John Edelman, until recently Capitol Hill lobbyist for the Textile Workers' Union. During recent elections the "over-65s" rang doorbells, distributed literature, worked the precincts on Election Day, manned the telephones on "Election Day minus one" —call day—and spent their leisure time stomping their areas for favorite candidates.

"So we now are chagrined over the Medicare development," said Irving Baldinger, vice president for Health and Welfare, District 65, a wholesale, retail and small manufacturing shop union, one of the most militant in the land.

"The government now, by shifting the fiscal operations to Blue Cross and insurance companies, separates the retiring membership from the unions. This will cut the final vestiges of contact between the unions and their members because this link has been based on welfare and hospitalization and retirement funds.

"Of course, you're right when you say that will also cut the unions from vital political cadres. The retirees have been doing yeoman work in all the legislative lobbying. They are veteran unionists, instilled in the old tradition, and they have the time to help."

Furthermore, says Baldinger, the old comprehensive medical coverage provided by the unions is less expensive. And he reports that many of the old retirees are coming to union headquarters asking, "What do we need Medicare for? We already have coverage."

So the second stage of the Medicare drama is upon us.

Labor's attack will be launched against the right of the physicians to estimate their own bills. And such leaders as Walter Reuther will fight to force such industries as "auto and aerospace" to pay the $36 voluntary yearly charge.

They aim to prove they are mighty powerful medicine men themselves.

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Can't Happen Here?

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Bloody fighting, with scores of injuries, erupted recently on the campus of Mexico's National University, as striking law students smashed past security guards to take over the office of the president, who resigned along with 35 faculty members.

Three thousand students, on strike for 41 days, clashed with university police who barred them from the president's office. The students, who demanded his ouster and a sweeping change of study rules, also seized the university radio station.

So far, "demonstrations" on American campuses have not gone beyond the Berkeley riots in severity. But from time out of mind, student rebellions have made university campuses the breeding place of full-blown revolutions that have toppled established governments over many parts of the world.

It may not happen here tomorrow, or next week, but the dangers inherent in the campus tinder-box ought not to be brushed aside lightly.

Many American universities today are hotbeds of social unrest, so far largely limited to irresponsible protest, sign-carrying marches and "demonstrations." Such symptoms, however, are not immune to exploitation by skillful agitators into manifestations of violently serious proportions.

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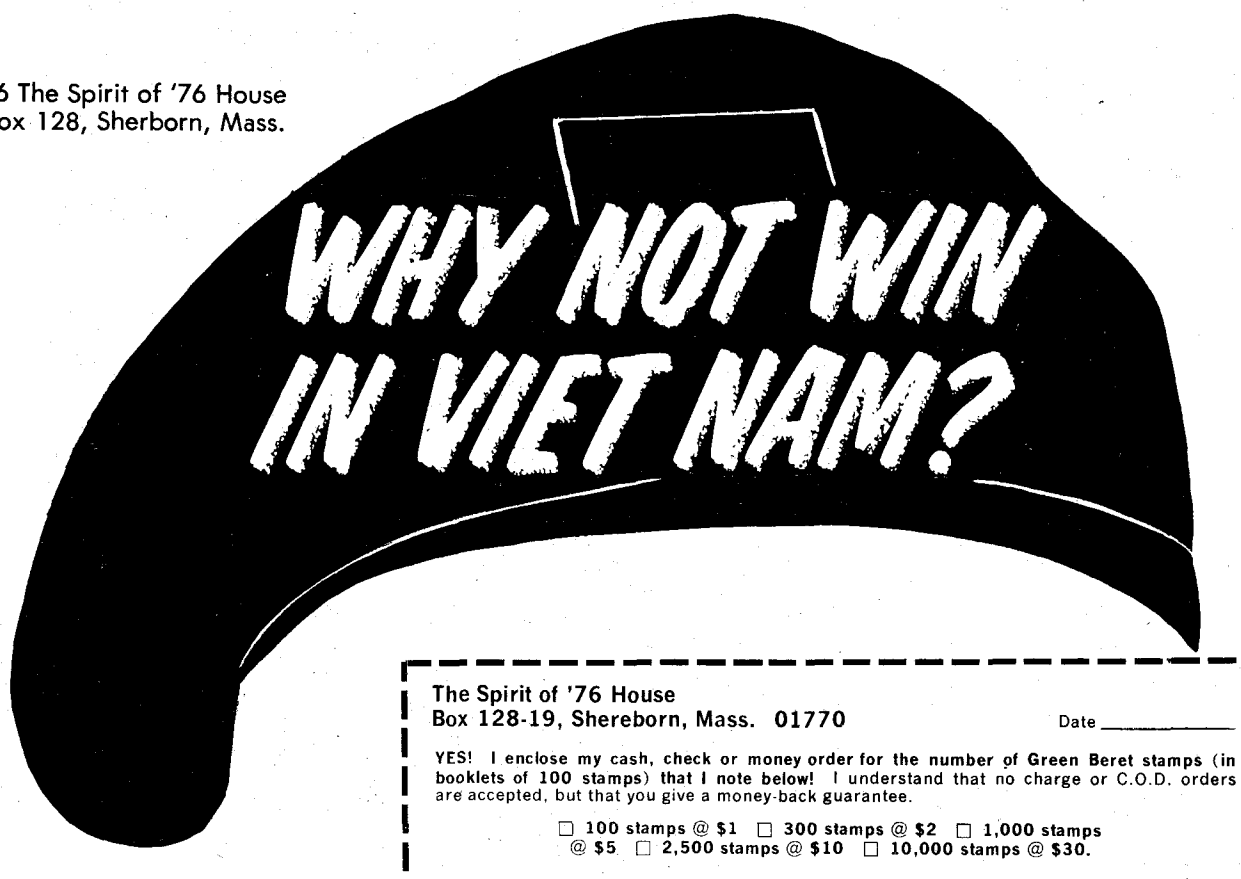

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U.S. Air Force F-105 Thunderchiefs (above) over North Viet Nam have come under attack by Soviet-built MIG-21s which may have electronic countermeasures systems.

MIGs Reported Able to Jam Sidewinder Guidance Systems

From the Allen-Scott Report

Russia is testing a deadly new jamming device in the aerial battles now raging over North Viet Nam. This radar counter-weapon appears to be highly effective against the two principal U.S. air to-air missiles—the Sidewinder and Sparrow.

Only one of the first 38 of these missiles fired at MIG-21s, most advanced Soviet fighter in Viet Nam, hit its target and destroyed the plane.

That's the disturbing report received by Air Force and Navy experts probing the failure of U.S. air-to-air missiles from pilots following encounters with MIG-21s.

The pilots expressed the belief that the MIG-21s are equipped with a jamming device that neutralizes the radar-guidance systems used in launching U.S. missiles. During their dog-fights with the MIG-21s, the pilots stated that electronic impulses from the enemy aircraft repeatedly "unlocked" their radar as they zeroed in their guidance system for missile firings.

In clashes with slower MIG-15s and MIG-17s, this radar problem has not appeared. Careful checks of the guidance systems seem to rule out other reasons for their failure.

Sidewinder missiles, which are attracted to heat, have been found to be most effective against the MIGs when fired toward their jet engines in the rear. In making attacks, U.S. pilots maneuver into this position to "lock on" their radar guidance system to the tail of the enemy aircraft for the best results.

When the MIGs come within range, the missiles are automatically fired by radar. Any major disturbance to the radar system causes the missiles to veer off course and greatly reduces the chances of hitting the targets.

Sparrow missiles, with a much longer range, are guided to the target by radar. MIG-21 pilots apparently are diverting these weapons by directly jamming their guidance systems.

U.S. authorities have known for some years that the Russians were equipping their jet bombers with this anti-missile device. However, until the encounters in Viet Nam, it was the view of U.S. experts that the jamming system was too large for installation in the smaller MIGs.

This electronic development is rated a major breakthrough for the Soviet, as U.S. scientists still have not perfected a similar device for either bombers or interceptors.

Air Force officials are gravely concerned that the jamming device will give the MIG-21 a decided edge over the F-4C Phantom jet, speediest fighter in the world.

While the MIG-21 has proved somewhat more maneuverable, the supersonic Phantom has a longer range, can attain a higher altitude and is much faster. Its speed is "more than 1,800 miles per hour" compared to 1,600 for the MIG-21.

Monitoring of radio conversations indicates that both Russian and Vietnamese-speaking pilots are manning the MIG-21s. These jets are based at Phuc Yen airfield, 18 miles northwest of Hanoi, and at Kep, 37 miles northwest of the capital.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have repeatedly proposed that these two bases be bombed, since nearly all the estimated 60 MIG-21s in North Viet Nam are stationed on them.

The number of jet aircraft permanently based in North Viet Nam is now estimated by the Air Force at 160. In addition to the MIG-21s, there are 30 MIG-15s, 40 MIG-17s and 30 IL-28 bombers.

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PAPER JUNGLE—Here are some up-to-the-month statistics on the "Paperwork Jungle" officially compiled and reported this month by the U.S. Archivist: (1) almost 30 per cent of all federal employes spend much of their time on paperwork; (2) paperwork now costs almost $7 billion a year; (3) the average cost of a single letter prepared in the executive branch costs $2.44; (4) the average cost of each page of a directive is $300; (5) federal records now exceed 25 million cubic feet in quantity, an increase of about one million since 1962; (6) there is an average of 1½ filing cabinets for each federal worker.

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REP. BOB WILSON (R.-Calif.) says for Americans not to worry about Castro. "Although scientists say the continents are shifting, in 100 billion years Cuba will still be 89 miles off our shores," he says, tongue in cheek.

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DO AS I SAY, NOT . . . While President Johnson asks Americans to keep their dollars at home, he unashamedly passes out souvenir penknives—made in Switzerland.

Is McNamara on the Way Out?

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

As the foundation rock of the Kennedy-Johnson Cabinets, Defense Secretary McNamara is generally thought to be the immovable man in LBJ's favor—but not so.

There is informed opinion on the Senate Armed Services Committee, whose members knew Lyndon Johnson long before McNamara came along, that the secretary has committed the unforgivable sin of misleading his commander-in-chief.

It is not prudent for the senators to pinpoint these incidents of deceit, for it is not wise that the enemy know of our military deficiencies. But in examining McNamara's unfitness as a wartime statesman, the disgruntled senators have found that the secretary's salient fault is his habit of deceiving himself.

He deceives himself, as many men in non-critical positions do, by erroneously making up his mind in advance and then demanding facts to support his fallacy. But whereas the rest of us may call upon our close relatives and our impacted prejudices to sustain a mistaken position, McNamara calls upon a staff of expert yea-sayers.

The vaunted Whiz Kids, whom he brought to the Pentagon in 1961, are there to listen to the secretary and then to prove him right. He has become a victim of his own tough leadership, for

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's *major fault seems to be his unwillingness to take any advice.*

his fact-finders are much too cowed to tell him what he doesn't want to hear.

Senators feel that McNamara often states a proposition without being in possession of the details which would rebut it. This wouldn't happen to an administrator who had uninhibited reporting at his disposal. The growing opinion is that McNamara wouldn't mind admitting his mistakes if he hadn't trained his minions to drench him in the incense of omniscience.

McNamara did well enough as long as he was running a peace-time showplace at the Department of Defense, for the floors were shiny and efficiency charts hung on every wall.

But today, as Chairman Stennis of the Preparedness subcommittee points out, an absurd little power in North Viet Nam has tied us up in Asia. Meanwhile, we try to sit on a revolution in the Dominican Republic and to hold the fort in West Europe.

The senator is just opening an investigation which shows early signs of testing McNamara to the utmost. Stennis plans to:

1. Call upon Secretary Rusk and the State Department to explain what we are supposed to do under the 40-odd defense pacts we have signed with foreign nations.

2. Call upon military officers, not the Whiz Kids, to give informed estimates of what we need to keep these pledges.

3. Ask McNamara to prove that he's got the men, the transportation and the weapons to meet the potential emergencies, assuming the worst; namely, that several of them occur simultaneously.

There is no cabal under Stennis to destroy McNamara. The senator thinks him a good secretary who would be a better one if he would accept the advice and assistance of congressional committees. The senator hopes to carry out his probe without promoting "disunity" in time of war. He has been as sober as the judge he used to be in presiding over this trial of a Cabinet member.

But a trial is what it is. McNamara stands accused of failure in his wartime capacity.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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EX-CON IN "POVERTY"—A self-styled "spokesman" for Chicago's poor who participated in recent anti-poverty conferences in the Nation's Capital was recently revealed by Chicago's *American* as an ex-convict with a long police record. The newspaper said that Chester Robinson, who led the Chicago delegation to the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, has been arrested 19 times by Chicago police. He served three years of a 2-to-4-year sentence for peddling narcotics and was discharged from the state penitentiary in March 1961. He had earlier served terms for possession of narcotics, tampering with an auto and disorderly conduct, the paper said. "His latest arrest was on April 18, 1965, when two policemen were attacked entering a dance for teen-agers being held by the West Side Organization [a civil rights group headed by Robinson]. Robinson was sentenced to three years probation and six months in the House of Correction for resisting arrest. He is appealing the sentence," the paper said. The story said that Robinson, when asked about his police record, replied, "What about it? I did what I did, I paid for it. I don't think it's anybody's business. I done evil, I seen evil, and now I'm fighting evil. I don't make any excuses."

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Supports Bosch in Dominican Republic

How the National Student Association Downgrades the U.S. in Latin America

"They denounce our intervention in the Dominican Republic and distribute anti-American leaflets," a U.S. diplomat in a Latin American country recently told a reporter. "They vilify President Johnson as an international law-breaker."

He was not speaking about indigenous Communists or radicals. These attacks against the United States come from Latin American representatives of our own National Student Association. Attempting to win support on Latin American campuses, NSA fieldmen criss-cross the hemisphere, criticizing U.S. involvement in the Dominican Republic and South Viet Nam. They often match local Communists in their censure of U.S. foreign policy.

It is somewhat astounding that this American student organization should work so energetically against American interests. Indeed, NSA propaganda is being used at this very moment to help swing the crucial June 1 election in the Dominican Republic to poet-radical Juan Bosch, an erratic and unstable Latin leader who has long snuggled up close to the Communists. A Bosch victory would be a bitter blow to those who seek an honest and stable Dominican regime. (Bosch has now threatened to withdraw as a candidate because he charges the "climate" is not good for free elections. Others feel that if Bosch does withdraw it will be because he does not want to face defeat.)

When Bosch was deposed by a military coup in 1963, Latin American diplomats heaved a sigh of relief. Parading as a progressive, Bosch had shut down his country's free communications media, had attempted to foment a phony war with Haiti and permitted the Communists an almost free hand in his government.

Bosch is so discredited that the U.S. State Department, once his foremost champion, has shied away from backing him. Even such good friends as Venezuela's Romulo Betancourt have turned against him.

John Bartlow Martin, a former ambassador to the Dominican Republic and once a warm supporter of Bosch, has sadly written that the radical elements which provoked the revolution in Santo Domingo last year with the intent of returning Bosch to power were dominated by Communists—a fact concurred in by the Dominican trade unions as well as by the American government.

For saving his country from a Castro-style take-over and permitting him a chance to regain the presidency via free elections, Bosch has openly condemned the United States and demanded that Uncle Sam pay his nation $1 billion for alleged damages to his country.

The National Student Association, however, has no qualms about undermining the United States and openly siding with the radical Bosch. As early as last December 28, NSA was beginning to circulate throughout the Dominican Republic an NSA resolution, printed in Spanish, condemning the sending of American military forces into that country for the purpose of preventing the establishment of a Communist regime.

The NSA resolution admits that the "constitutionalists"—as it chooses to call the Red-led forces who supported Bosch—had been infiltrated by "some Communists," but it insists that control by the Communists has "not been proved." The NSA goes on to identify the forces supporting Bosch as social reformers and bluntly charges the United States with "undermining the principal of non-intervention."

How ironic that the Communists and Juan Bosch are parroting the American NSA to prove the United States has unjustly crushed the legitimate aspirations of the Dominican people!

The charges of the Communists in Latin America gain much more credence when they are supported by statements from a U.S. student group.

NSA presents itself as the vanguard of American youth to Latin American students, a progressive force in the United States. "Progressive" it is, but part of the reason it courts the Latin radicals is to win support in NSA's efforts to control the International Student Conference, a sort of world conference of students from non-Communist countries. In this campaign to win over the ubiquitous leftist students, NSA has moved against the interests of the United States in Latin America on a broad range of issues.

Not so long ago it was praising Fidel Castro's educational "reforms." Another example was the Panama student riots in which over $2 million of American property was destroyed and U.S. soldiers were killed by Red sniper bullets. When the Communist propaganda machine whipped up worldwide condemnation of the United States, NSA representatives joined the anti-Yankee chorus.

The highly respected International Commission of Jurists conducted an on-the-spot investigation of the cause and found "the canal authorities and the United States military forces were entitled to use force" because of the "tempo and violence of the disturbances"—but that didn't prevent a vicious condemnation of "the Americans" by NSA in a 1965 resolution. Predictably, the NSA also failed to mention Communist involvement in the riots.

While the United States is consistently attacked in four NSA position papers recently distributed throughout Latin America, there is, in fact, not a single criticism made of communism or any Red country. In the same propaganda, the free enterprise system, local anti-Communist governments and American policy are scathingly assaulted.

Glibly following the anti-U.S. line, NSA lists "imperialism" as the first of the three great enemies of a free society in Latin America (the others: dictatorship and economic privation). Throughout Latin campuses, of course, "imperialism" is synonymous with the United States and its capitalist system. But NSA spells it out frequently.

Regarding the economic situation, NSA charges that "private interests, predominantly from the United States, have excluded the participation of Latin Americans in the important decisions affecting the economic development of their countries."

In a position paper on the general Latin American picture, NSA demands that university students should be allowed to contribute more to "the development and democratization of society." Concerning the Dominican Republic it states: "The USNSA insists that the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo be opened as quickly as possible and that the government respect university autonomy and the academic freedom of all students."

The "university autonomy" demanded throughout Latin America by NSA simply means that campuses are off-limits to all law-enforcement authorities. Hiding behind this autonomous status, universities have been turned into sanctuaries for wanted Communists and subversives. They have become Red indoctrination centers as well as munitions factories and arms depots.

On the issues of improving education, eliminating illiteracy and increasing productivity, the United States is portrayed as a chief villain. "The USNSA laments that the United States has compromised the defense of these objectives by supporting military regimes and governments without proper representation. . . ."

While charges of American domination and exploitation in Latin America are hardly new, the fact that they come from an organization that represents itself as the voice of U.S. youth certainly gives them much greater credence than they have when preached by Communist propagandists. Radical and Communist youth use these American "confessions of guilt" to "prove" that what they have been saying is true.

The NSA is so "anti-Yankee" in its resolutions that many of its representatives behave as if they were downright ashamed of their country. A U.S. diplomat at one of our embassies in Latin America told a recent visitor: "National Student Association people completely shun the embassy and all of us who work here. They feel that to be seen with American personnel or businessmen would tarnish their image among the local students."

The National Student Association is holding its annual meeting in August. Hopefully the students from those colleges which still belong to this discredited group will seriously consider these anti-American activities before they elect the NSA leaders for next year.

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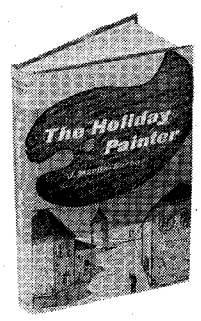

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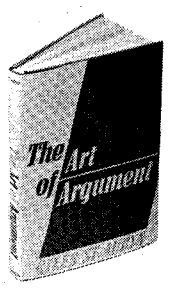

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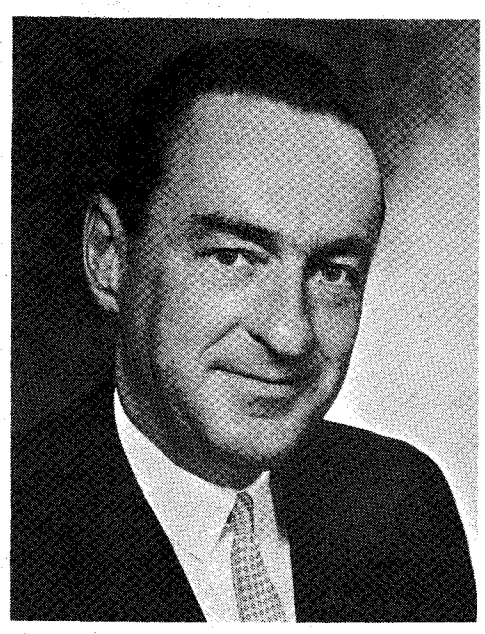

The press made much of reports that New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller (left) had turned down an offer of campaign help from William E. Miller. The offer, however, was never made.

The Cut-Throat Game of Politics

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

I once had a talk with the son of Phil La Follette. It was in the period of Phil's political eclipse. Phil had been the pre-World War II governor of Wisconsin, he had tried unsuccessfully to start a new national Progressive party —and now, after a lifetime of public striving, he had nothing to show for it but memories. His son, surveying the scene, told me that politics was a mug's game, with ingratitude its prime reward, and that he would have nothing to do with it. He was going off to Alaska to pioneer.

Well, politics is a mug's game, all right. It is played viciously, and for keeps. Take, for instance, the recent experience of Bill Miller, Barry Goldwater's vice presidential running mate. When the 1964 campaign was over, Bill Miller swore that he would not talk with reporters about politics for a good long time. He let down the bars the other day, but not in any sense that he considered dangerous.

When he was asked a leading question about the possibility of supporting Nelson Rockefeller for governor of New York state next autumn, Bill gave the reply that might be expected of any Republican. He said he would vote for the choice of the party's convention.

But, as things turned out, this was the beginning of what rapidly turned into as neat a bit of mouse-trapping as has been seen in a month of Sundays.

Before the story had ceased to spread, Miller had turned down an invitation to run for governor on the Conservative party ticket; Rocky had sent him a note thanking him for his assurance that he would not join any Conservative third party move to trip up the regular Republicans in their quest for victory; and Miller had offered to campaign for Rockefeller.

The only thing wrong with all this is that not one single item in it happens to have been true. There was no Miller offer to campaign for Rockefeller. There was no Conservative party bid to Miller to head a third party ticket. And, after Rockefeller's employe, former baseball star Jackie Robinson, had made an issue with his boss of "it's Miller or me," it developed that the New York governor had not communed with Miller about help of any kind.

Disgusted with the whole business, Bill Miller tried to set the record straight for the benefit of a Buffalo, N.Y., reading public. But the correction has battered at the doors of "downstate" in vain.

In New York City, where there has been a newspaper strike, the newspapers that continued to publish—two liberal papers and one tabloid—did not seem to be particularly interested in helping Bill Miller out.

Meanwhile, conservative Republicans who knew nothing of the circumstances have been left with the wholly fallacious impression that Miller had tried abjectly to crawl back into the good graces of the Republican liberals.

Oh, it's a mug's game, all right. But it has its comeuppances, or at least the possibility of them. Just a little while ago the Republican minority leader in the U.S. Senate, Ev Dirksen, thought he had been assured of a one-vote margin of victory in his attempt to win the necessary two-thirds majority for his anti-reapportionment amendment. But there were telephone calls made during the night, and when the Senate voted on the Dirksen bll it failed by a small count.

Now come the liberals pleading with Ev Dirksen to support the "open occupancy" section of the Johnson Administration's new civil rights bill. "Open occupancy" would make it illegal for a home owner to refuse to sell his home to a Negro. Dirksen, whose basic friendship for the Negro was amply demonstrated by his all-out fight for last year's civil rights legislation, has said that he considers federal interference with seller-buyer home arrangements to be unconstitutional, and has offered to "eat the chimney" off any house that is proved to be in interstate commerce. But Atty. Gen. Katzenbach doesn't believe Dirksen will continue in opposition. "I think we will get Sen. Dirksen's support," he said. "He's a very reasonable man."

Reasonable Dirksen may be. But he thinks he has been cheated on the reapportionment amendment, which also involved a constitutional issue. And one thing that Dirksen knows for sure about politics is that two can play at a mug's game.

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WE'RE SPOILED over here in America. Everybody's looking for bigger, better, fancier apartments. Over in East Berlin, all they want is a hole in the wall!—By Johnny Morgan in *Parade* magazine.

Reprints of former Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Whittaker's stirring address, "We Must Return to Fundamentals—Or Face Anarchy" are now available. This article, which appeared in the May 7, 1966, issue of **Human Events**, shows how necessary are honesty, responsibility and respect for law—principles that made America great. See reprint coupon on page 10.

'Council for a Livable World' Bankrolls 9 'Peace' Candidates

By BILL SCHULZ

A Washington-based group called the Council for a Livable World is pouring funds into nine states to aid candidates opposed to U. S. foreign policy.

Officials of the ultra-liberal peace group refuse to say how much money they have earmarked for each campaign. But the council president, Bernard Field, has requested the group's 4,000 members to contribute 2 per cent of their annual income to the campaign kitty. Field is a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

If the average income were $10,000, and all 4,000 supporters faithfully gave the requested 2 per cent, the council would have $800,000 for the upcoming campaigns.

The council was born in June 1962. Five months later it claimed to have elected its first senator, George McGovern (D.-S. D.). The council, which threw $20,000 into McGovern's campaign, claims major credit for his narrow, 597-vote triumph. Two years later, the council offered funds to 10 Senate Democrats. One, Quentin Burdick of North Dakota, returned the money. The other nine kept it. All won.

This year the council is raising funds for Sen. Clifford Case (R.-N. J.), Sen. Lee Metcalf (D.-Mont.) and Rep. John G. Dow (D.-N. Y.). Also for former Rep. Ralph Harding (D.-Idaho), a candidate for the Senate; Democrat Howard Morgan, a senatorial hopeful in Oregon; Thomas B. Adams, an "independent" candidate for senator from Massachusetts; Democrat Roy Roper, a senatorial candidate in Colorado; and congressional hopefuls George Leppert (Calif.) and Ed Gadenhead (Okla.), both Democrats.

Ironically, Sen. Case is opposed by a peacenik, Rutgers University Prof. David Frost, who is seeking the Democratic senatorial nomination. But Case has won endorsement from the Council for a Livable World, a spokesman for the group says, because he is the most "peace-oriented" member of the Republican party.

The council's platform consists of five major planks: (1) a ban on all underground nuclear tests (no mention is made of the on-site inspections necessary to verify that such a treaty is lived up to); (2) a drastic reduction in military spending; (3) abolition of all restrictions on East-West trade; (4) an end to travel bans that prevent Americans from visiting Red China, North Viet Nam and Cuba; and (5) a "non-aligned" Viet Nam.

Note: The Council for a Livable World was founded by Leo Szilard, an eminent scientist who until his death last year was one of the world's most prominent pacifists. In his efforts to achieve peace, Szilard carried on extensive correspondence with Soviet leaders, first Stalin, then Molotov, then Khrushchev. He attended numerous conferences behind the Iron Curtain.

The chairman of the council's board is Dr. William Doering, director of the division of sciences at Yale. Other board members include Prof. Jerome Frank of Johns Hopkins, Dr. Matthew Mesellson of Harvard and James Patton, former president of the National Farmers Union.

* * *

For one of the few times in our history, a candidate in this century is running for public office as an avowed Communist. She is Dorothy Healey, chairman of the party's southern California district and candidate for the office of Los Angeles County tax assessor. Mrs. Healey is running on a soak-the-rich, get-out-of-Viet Nam platform and her campaign is managed by William Taylor, a veteran Communist. Benjamin Debbs, another long-time party wheelhorse, is in charge of campaign funds.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

No Infallibility

By SEN. JOHN TOWER (R.-Tex.)

The collective professional judgment of 15 senators of the Armed Services Committee is at least as good and carries at least as much weight as does the judgment of [Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara]. *Besides, the Edsel reminds us that Mr. McNamara is not infallible.*

U.N.'s Red Aid

By REP. JOHN BUCHANAN (R.-Ala.)

It is a matter of growing concern to the American people to learn that tax funds paid by our citizens are being diverted through our funding of the United Nations into projects which not only aid Communist countries, but even go so far as to provide funds for the training of Communist youths in electronics, radar and military communications. The United Nations under the United Nations development program has proposed that the United Nations Special Fund spend more than $2 million in Cuba for the specific purpose of expanding the facilities for training engineers and architects at the University of Havana, which will include training in electronics, radar and military communications [see *Human Events*, Jan. 29, 1966, page 4] . . . .

It is for this reason I have introduced a bill to provide that the United States shall make no payments or contributions to the United Nations for furnishing assistance to Communist countries. In addition to Cuba, Communist and Communist-dominated nations coming under the provision of the bill would include the Soviet Union, Albania, Bulgaria, Red China, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, North Korea, North Viet Nam, Outer Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, Tibet and Yugoslavia.

It does not make sense to fight a war in Viet Nam to combat communism abroad, to see daily mounting casualty lists, and to constantly combat Communist subversion within our own nation, and at the same time, through the United Nations, contribute American tax dollars for the use of the Communist enemy abroad.

Aged Hurt

By SEN. JOHN WILLIAMS (R.-Del.)

Surely, we can all agree that inflation is a real danger in this country and not just a threat. We all agree that inflation pauperizes the aged. I have said many times that is one of the greatest indictments against this Administration—the fact that they have pauperized the aged by destroying the purchasing power of their pensions, their life savings and their life insurance policies. And if you don't believe it, just ask one of those individuals who has retired a few years ago on what he thought, and they thought, at that time was adequate to take care of them for the rest of their lives. Today, they cannot buy the necessities of life due to the increased cost of living.

House Approves Participation Sales

Following is the 206-to-190 rollcall vote by which the House on May 18 voted to enact the Administration's $4.2 billion participation sales financing plan. This will allow private investors to buy shares in existing federal agency loans. The bill, which now goes to the Senate, will let the federal government loan much more money without having the activity reflected in the fiscal 1967 budget. (*See story on page 4*).

DEMOCRATS FOR: 206

Albert
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Bandstra
Barrett
Beckworth
Bennett
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Brademas
Brooks
Burke
Byrne (Pa.)
Cabell
Callan
Cameron
Carey
Casey
Celler
Chelf
Clark
Cohelan
Cooley
Corman
Craley
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Davis (Ga.)
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dent
Denton
Dingell
Donohue
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Duncan (Oreg.)
Dyal
Edmondson
Edwards (La.)
Evans (Colo.)
Everett
Evins (Tenn.)
Fallon
Farbstein
Farnsley
Farnum
Fascell
Feighan
Fisher
Flood
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Fuqua
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilligan
Gonzalez
Grabowski
Gray
Green (Pa.)
Greigg
Griffiths
Hagen (Calif.)
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen (Iowa)
Hansen (Wash.)
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler
Helstoski
Herlong
Holifield
Holland
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Ichord
Jacobs
Jarman
Jennings
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Johnson (Okla.)
Jones (Ala.)
Jones (Mo.)
Jones (N. C.)
Karsten
Kee
Kelly
Keogh
King (Calif.)
King (Utah)
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Landrum
Long (La.)
Love
McCarthy
McDowell
McFall
McGrath
McVicker
Macdonald
Machen
Mackie
Madden
Mahon
Matsunaga
Matthews
Meeds
Miller
Mills
Minish
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris
Morrison
Multer
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N. Y.)
Natcher
O'Brien
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen (Mont.)
Olson (Minn.)
O'Neill (Mass.)
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Poage
Pool
Price
Pucinski
Purcell
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rivers (S. C.)
Rivers (Alaska)
Roberts
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Rogers (Fla.)
Ronan
Rooney (Pa.)
Rostenkowski
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Secrest
Senner
Shipley
Sickles
Sikes
Sisk
Slack
Smith (Iowa)
Smith (Va.)
Staggers
Stalbaum
Steed
Stephens
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Tenzer
Thomas
Thompson (N. J.)
Thompson (Tex.)
Todd
Trimble
Tunney
Tuten
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Waggonner
Walker (N. Mex.)
Watts
Weltner
White (Idaho)
White (Tex.)
Wolff
Wright
Young
Zablocki
Ottinger
Passman
Pike
Race
Randall
Redlin
Rogers (Tex.)
Rosenthal
Roush
Roybal
Ryan
Satterfield
Schisler
Schmidhauser
Selden
Stratton
Sweeney
Teague (Tex.)
Tuck
Udall
Ullman
Vigorito
Vivian
Whitener
Whitten
Yates

REPUBLICANS FOR: 0

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 64

Abernethy
Adams
Addabbo
Andrews, George
Ashmore
Bolling
Brown (Calif.)
Burleson
Burton (Calif.)
Clevenger
Conyers
Diggs
Dow
Dulski
Edwards (Calif.)
Flynt
Foley
Fountain
Gathings
Gilbert
Green (Ore.)
Grider
Haley
Henderson
Hicks
Hout
Irwin
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kornegay
Lennon
Long (Md.)
McMillan
Marsh
Mink
Moeller
Nedzi
O'Neal (Ga.)
Findley
Fino
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Fulton (Pa.)
Goodell
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Harsha
Harvey (Ind.)
Harvey (Mich.)
Horton
Hosmer
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
Keith
King (N. Y.)
Kunkel
Kupferman
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
McClory
McCulloch
McDade
McEwen
Mailliard
Martin (Ala.)
Martin (Neb.)
May
Minshall
Mize
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Nelsen
O'Konski
Pelly
Pirnie
Poff
Quie
Quillen
Reid (Ill.)
Reid (N. Y.)
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Robison
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Saylor
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (N. Y.)
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Walker (Miss.)
Watkins
Watson
Whalley
Widnall
Wyatt
Wydler

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 126

Adair
Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews, Glenn
Andrews (N. D.)
Arends
Ashbrook
Ayres
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Berry
Betts
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brock
Broomfield
Brown, Clarence
Broyhill (N. C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burton (Utah)
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Callaway
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Conable
Conte
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtin
Curtis
Dague
Davis (Wis.)
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Duncan (Tenn.)
Dwyer
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn

NOT VOTING: 35

Red China Lobby at Work Again

By REP. JOHN ASHBROOK (R.-Ohio)

Once more we see the Red China lobby at work with its usual approach of softpedaling the vicious Communist regime's tyranny and holding out the olive branch to our enemy. It is no secret that our State Department has been waiting for a chance to push Red China into the community of respectable nations and now seems to be the time. For the past five years I have continually pointed out the feelers that were sent out by these professional miscalculators who champion the cause of aid to our Communist enemy, negotiation and treaties, increased trade and lowering of all barriers with them. The terrible record of Communist performance does not deter them a bit, they continue to advocate the same shopworn "be kind to Communists and they will treat us nice, too" theory which is out of touch with reality.

In the late '40s these same people were referring to the Red Chinese as agrarian reformers. They attacked Chiang Kai-shek and had many Americans believing that he was worse than Mao. The Institute of Pacific Relations and other pro-Communist groups were grinding out a relentless barrage of misinformation calculated to bring the American guard down. It did just this. All of a sudden, we hear the same line reminiscent of the Owen Lattimore days when, in the words of the late President Kennedy, then a Massachusetts congressman, our diplomats and President frittered away what our soldiers had won. He was speaking of course of the loss of China to communism.

Now we see a concerted effort to put the aura of respectability over this bandit nation whose leaders murdered more than 20 million of their fellow Chinese when they came to power. This is bad enough, but the method of accomplishing this change in policy is even more interesting.

They sell the idea that our policy is to get Red China to shift from its position and relax the barriers it has erected against us. Note that well. The situation is exactly the opposite. We have erected the barriers, we have prevented them from becoming a member of the United Nations. We have had the barriers against them. Now we read that the State Department is working hard to get China to give in.

The next step will be to talk them into accepting our foreign aid. They will hail as a diplomatic victory the Red Chinese acceptance of a seat in the United Nations and the resumption of trade with the United States.

Rep. Ashbrook

An Associated Press news story on March 15, 1966, gives a hint of this line. It said in the lead paragraph:

> The United States is pressing Communist China through public and diplomatic channels to lower barriers between the two countries, officials said yesterday, and the next effort probably will be made tomorrow in a meeting of ambassadors at Warsaw.

Read that over again. We are pressuring Red China to lower its barriers. This is fraudulent. One of the No. 1 foreign policy goals of the Communists for the past two decades has been to get U.S. diplomatic recognition of Red China, to open trade and to get the Reds a seat in the United Nations. This has been their goal, not ours—of course, meaning most of us excepting the State Department—and now we see our so-called foreign policy experts hunting for the "key to unlock China."

Red China is an aggressor nation, it lives in disregard of the U.N. Charter and gives no evidence of being the type of nation which would live at peace in the community of nations. It is in the Communist world's interest to accomplish a reversal of present U.S. policy, not ours.

□ □ □

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